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TURKISH FATHERING TODAY:
AN ENQUIRY AND DISCUSSION ARISING FROM THE VIEWS OF TURKISH FATHERS AND TURKISH YOUNG PEOPLE

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Our knowledge of parenting is determined by what mothers usually do for children and 'fathering' is described by comparing it to mothering. Fathers, as far as their relationship within their families is concerned, are part of a dynamic process that had not enough academic attention to fathers and adolescents together.

This study concerns Turkish fathers and fathering and contributes to the 'fathering and fatherhood' literature. 18-father- and 14-adolescent-interviews and 580 father-adolescent-pair questionnaires were analysed to comprehend Turkish fathers' and adolescents' perspectives on their fathering. This study discusses and compares the resultant perspectives and offers a unique insight into the relatively under-researched subject of Turkish father's practices, the influences on these such as religiosity, and the relationship between pre-modern and modern conceptions of what it means to be a father.

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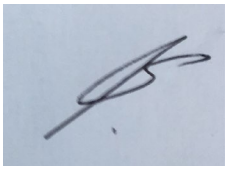

Salim KAYA

August 2019

Abstract

Our knowledge of parenting is determined by what mothers usually do for children and ‘fathering’ is described by comparing it to mothering. Fathers, as far as their relationship within their families is concerned, are part of a dynamic process that had not enough academic attention to fathers and adolescents together. The vast majority of the fathering research has been undertaken in anglophone societies and we know much less as to whether the insights we have as regards fathers and fathering pertain in other cultures and non-English speaking societies. Researchers have also neglected the influence of religion on parenting.

This study concerns Turkish fathers and fathering and contributes to the ‘fathering and fatherhood’ literature. 18-father- and 14-adolescent-interviews and 580 father-adolescent-pair questionnaires were analysed to comprehend Turkish fathers’ and adolescents’ perspectives on their fathering.

Fathers aspired to be a better father than their own fathers e.g. in terms of being closer and more responsive to their children's needs. The fathers struggled with balancing authority and friendship in their relationships with their children. The children perceived their fathers as old fashioned and behind contemporary approaches to fathering even when fathers perceived themselves as closer, warmer, more caring responsive and involved than their own fathers. Children's reaction, time and place (ie context) all affect fathers' parenting so that much variety in fathering can be seen at any one time. Fathers perceive girls as more fragile so that they tend to be more expressive of emotions with girls than boys. They also tend to have more protective behaviour towards their daughters than their sons so that girls' socialising outside is more restricted than that of boys. Islam has a positive effect on father-child

involvement via the Quran and hadiths regarding protection, closeness, model behaviour and spending time together, this is more the case for sons. Turkish fatherhood today emerges as in a state of flux with a mix of traditional and modern features; the former typified by authority and distance from their children and the later symbolised by a closer relationship with their children.

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First and foremost, I would like to thank my supervisors, Gary CLAPTON and Sue WIDDICOMBE, for their delicate supervision, endless patience, and enthusiastic assistance in concerns theoretical, practical and emotional. This research would not have been done without their help and support.

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Contents

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List of Abbreviations

MCRS: Measure of Child-rearing Styles

MCRS-Child: Measure of Child-rearing Styles for children

MCRS-Father: Measure of Child-rearing Styles for fathers

SPSS: Statistical Package for Social Science

TA: Thematic Analysis

TURKSTAT: Turkish Statistical Institute

Vs: Versus

Chapter

Chapter 1 Introduction

Much research describes fathering by comparing it to mothering. Spicer has called for considering fathering as a specific form of parenting and it is in this spirit the research described and this dissertation has been undertaken (2007, 203).

An understanding of the role associated with a being a father constructs the term fatherhood covering rights, duties, responsibilities and social positions in cultural and family circumstances (Hobson 2002, 11). As the expectations of a father's role depend on culture as well as family, there is no universal definition of a successful father or of an optimal father's role (Brandth & Kvande 1998; Cabrera 2010; Hakoama & Ready 2011; Lamb 2010; Nsamenang 2010). However, more success has been achieved by exploring how fathers father, or 'do' fathering. The vast majority of the fathering research has been undertaken in anglophone societies (Lamb 2010) and we know much less as to whether the insights we have as regards fathers and fathering, pertain in other cultures and non-English speaking societies. This dissertation addresses this gap by examining Turkish fathering.

Turkish culture contains a mix of the traditional and modern, secular and religious, and patriarchal and egalitarian as Turkey is placed physically and socially between Europe and Asia (Tecik 2012, Kagitcibasi 2005; Sen *et al*. 2014). This has an impact on Turkish people's attitudes to, and positions in, relationships with others.

Turkish culture and families have shifted from patriarchal control to greater egalitarian principles since the Ottoman Empire and its traditional and Islamic features (Kagitcibasi 2005). The establishment of the Republic of Turkey in

1923 was a starting point of changing family relationships in Turkey, but the main alteration commenced with moving from rural to urban areas because of the industrialisation of agriculture after the 1950s (Tecik 2012, 70). This process had an impact on women's situation in the family, and women have become more independent of their spouses. Consequently, fathers' and mothers' responsibility in the family have altered and to a certain extent moved to greater equalisation (Ataca 2006).

Traditional parenting in Turkey indicates differences between the roles of fathers and mothers, for instance caring for a child is for mothers while the terms of breadwinner, householder, authority, discipline and distance are for fathers (Sunar & Fisek 2005). Therefore, emotional distance is present in father-child relationships in Turkey (Metindogan 2015). Though this study mainly focuses on fathering, the results of this study also provide some comparisons between the parenting activities of fathers and mothers.

As regards fathering of sons and daughters, closer relationships in father-daughter relationships have been developing in Turkey (Ulas-Tol & Taskan 2018). Bozok (2018) also reported that fathers had equal approaches for their children when they considered their children's economic independence in the future. Adolescent boys in Turkey perceive their fathers as more authoritarian and judgmental than do girls (Sefer 2006; Guneysu *et al.* 2017; Dinn & Sunar *et al.* 2017). Sunar (2002) also found that fathers' affection is more noticeable in the perceptions of girls than boys' perceptions over three generations in Turkey. The present study engages in investigating differences between father-son and father-daughter relationships in order to offer detailed information about these gender dynamics in Turkish fathering behaviour.

Autonomy for children and young people is more visible in Turkey, but controls are still employed (Boratav *et al.* 2017). Psychological control by parents is more evident and can take the form of embarrassing, accusing

and ignoring. However, psychological control may increase adolescents' loneliness (Sayil & Kindap 2010; Yaban *et al*. 2013), deviant peer involvement (Kindap et al. 2008; Yaban *et al*. 2014) and depression, aggression and delinquency (Pettit et al. 2001; Soenens 2008). Yaban *et al.* (2013) found a discrepancy of perception in that one-third of fathers reported lower psychological control than was reported by their children. It may indicate that fathers are not aware of their psychological control or they underestimate it (ACEV, 2018). Nevertheless, psychological control negatively influences children.

Turkish fathers today attempt to be better fathers as an answer to their own fathers and they want to be closer to their children than their own fathers were to them (Ozgun *et al.* 2013, 1972) by showing affection, spending more time with their family and taking care about children's needs (Boratav *et al.* 2014; Yalcinoz 2011). Today, it can be said that Turkish fathering styles look backward and forward, and consist of a mix of traditional and modern attitudes (Tecik 2012). Alongside these shifts in attitudes to fathering, religion is another major influence on parenting in Turkey.

The Republic of Turkey is a secular country even though 99 per cent of its people are Muslim. Official policies do not include a religious dimension. However, Islam has an impact on social morality in Turkey as well as relationships (Rzayeva 2011). For example, Kagitcibasi (2005) claims that social virtue, regarding respecting relatives and older people, is necessary for Turkish society, and child-rearing is seen as a role model for the next generation. Teaching Islam is also a notable responsibility in Turkish culture so as to convince children to become a Muslim.

In addition to the above (religion and the challenges of disentangling fathers and mothers' behaviour), the **age** of the child is a significant factor in any exploration of parenting as with age comes changes in a child's physical size, cognitive and linguistic ability, emotional maturity, and social skills.

Affection, communication, discipline and care appear in various parenting forms due to children's changing needs and behaviour (Holden 2010, 123).

Research on fathering or fatherhood has often focused on fathers, who have younger children, especially under 3 years old (e.g. Pekkarakas 2010; Dayton *et al*. 2016; Fields-Olivieri *et al.* 2017; Ito *et al.* 2018; Ren & Zhang 2018). Consequently, we have little knowledge about relationships between fathers and adolescents. This study has chosen to focus on adolescence as a particular age group in order to explore fathering vis-à-vis adolescents. Another justification for choosing this age group is that there will be more possibilities for children's contribution to the research when they are better able to express and articulate their view.

As regards adolescence, the World Health Organisation (2015) identifies adolescence as the period in human growth and development that happens after childhood and before adulthood, from ages 10 to 19. Adolescence is perceived as one of the most critical phases in our lives because it involves many new social and psychological challenges (Lerner & Galambos 1998).

Around the world, there is generally a decline in the time parents and children spend together as children move through adolescence (Bronte-Tinkew *et al*. 2005; Dubas & Gerris 2002; Hakoama & Ready 2011; McGue *et al*. 2005; Steinberg & Silk 2002) because adolescents tend to spend more time with peers (Brown 2004; Furstenburg & Harris 2000). However, parents remain a crucial factor in adolescents' lives (Laursen & Collins 2009) and the impact of parenting, particularly fathering, can be influential, especially moral and ethical socialisation, and shifts to independence and autonomy (Richter 2006, 59).

The experience of parental behaviour varies from one adolescent to another due to their parents' different parenting. Parenting can be explored from

many perspectives, but a dominant and substantial trend has been to investigate parenting **in action,** especially parenting styles.

Research has observed associations between parenting styles and an offspring's behaviour over the last seven decades. The most well-known framework for explaining child-rearing was developed by Diana Baumrind (1968, 1971, 1973, 1991b). Her approach covers authoritarian, authoritative, permissive and neglectful parenting styles.

While highly useful for exploring how parents parent via the Baumrind's theory, the framework can be criticised to having a 'westernised' bias and omitting the role of religion. Therefore, engaging in analysing detailed information about parenting with feeling, opinion and perceptions provides additional views to comprehend parenting. In this thesis, parenting styles are analysed a questionnaire based on Baumrind's theory, whereas the detailed information about parenting is analysed via semi-structured interviews. Thus, qualitative and quantitative approaches complement each other to offer better descriptions of fathering in the round.

In its coverage of how Turkish fathers do parenting and how their adolescent children perceive this, this study seeks to encompass some of the critical lacunae in the parenting literature. The fathering dimension, the influence of religion and the **joint** perceptions of fathering and being fathered. This study then seeks to answer the main research question, **'what do Turkish fathers do when they parent their adolescents?'.**

This study explores father-child relationships from the point of view of both parties, , the effect of Islam on fathering, and differences between father-son and father-daughter relationships.

In conclusion, this research aims to contribute to knowledge of the wider discourse of parenting but particularly fathering adolescents. The research

seeks to comprehend Turkish fathers' parenting of adolescents by using a participatory approach in an attempt to give both participants a 'voice' via questionnaires and interviews. Despite being a significant part of general family dynamics, little research has paid attention to fathers and adolescents together in relation to a given set of parenting. This study offers a unique exploration of Turkish fathering styles with adolescent children from both perspectives. Additionally, the study incorporates specific factors related to Turkish fathering such as religion.

This thesis consists of a literature review, research design and methodology, results of the questionnaire and interviews, and the final discussion chapters. Each chapter is now briefly explained.

The literature review chapter presents the theoretical approaches to parenthood, fatherhood and adolescents as well as the father-adolescent relationship. Fathering adolescents across the world as well as in Turkey are depicted to understand the father-adolescent relationship in relation to parenting styles, monitoring, conflict, closeness, spending time together, gender, culture and religion.

The research design and methodology chapter introduces research aims and questions, advantages of mixed method, Baumrind's parenting styles, thematic analysis and the research instruments. Participants' recruitment process and data analysis are also detailed. Translation, reliability and validity, ethics and reflexivity are also discussed.

The questionnaire results chapter presents a descriptive analysis of demographic variables, perceptions of religiosity and fathering styles. The classified fathering styles from the reports of fathers and adolescents, separately and together, are statistically examined and conclusions drawn with reference to other studies.

The interview results chapter askes the questions, 'what are fathers doing?', 'how do they do it?' and 'why do they say they do it[1]?'. Five main themes are emerged from the raw data, 'monitoring', 'influencing', 'adjusting rules and boundaries', 'problem-solving' and 'socialising'. The results of father's and child's interviews are independently discussed, and then their results together are considered.

The final discussion chapter discusses the value of Baumrind's theory. The outcomes of questionnaires and interviews are represented together with what we have learned seeking an answer to the main research question, '*what do Turkish fathers do when they parent their adolescents'*.

[1] The fathers are asked this directly and the adolescents are invited to say why they **think** their father does what he does.

Chapter 2 Literature review

As an important aspect of this research, the wider theoretical and empirical work needs to be considered. This chapter engages with what we already know about parenthood and fatherhood over the world as well as in Turkey in order to understand the concept of fathering rather than mothering. The father-adolescent relationship is scrutinised with parenting styles, monitoring, conflict, closeness, spending time together, gender, culture and religion.

2.1 Parenthood and fatherhood

There is a substantive body of research, which has paid attention to parenting of adolescents although not specifying it as either mothering and fathering, with the results generally about mothering. Parenting and fathering studies are represented across different national contexts in order to understand the general concept of fathers, and the specific context of Turkish parenting and fathering is outlined to better comprehend Turkish fathers.

2.1.1 Parenting and fathering around the world

'What mothers usually do for children' is typically considered as a representation of parenting so that the 'maternal template' formulates our knowledge of parenting (Marsiglio *et al*. 2000; Swuda 2017). Hence, much research describes fathering by comparing it to mothering. However, it has been discussed that considering fathering as a specific form of parenting has more benefit than attempting to distinguish it from mothering (Spicer 2007, 203). Therefore, it is important to clarify the terms ‘fatherhood’ and ‘fathering’ in order to clearly distinguish what fathers do from concepts associated with mothering.

Due to the comparisons between fathering and mothering, Dermott (2003) reports that 'it seems easier to define what new fathering is not, rather than

what it is'. Fathering should be considered in its unique circumstances to reach a better conclusion of what fathers are doing. Therefore, there is a need to focus on fathers' behaviour without comparison with mothers.

An understanding of the role associated with a being a father contructs the term fatherhood as covering rights, duties, responsibilities and social positions in cultural and family circumstances (Hobson 2002, 11). As the expectations of a father's role depends on culture as well as family, there is no universal definition of a successful father or of an optimal father's role (Brandth & Kvande 1998; Cabrera 2010; Hakoama & Ready 2011; Lamb 2010; Nsamenang 2010). However, more success has been achieved by exploring how fathers father, or 'do' fathering.

Fathers *do* behave differently from mothers (Pleck 2012). However, as we look at parenting in the research, it is understandable that mother-parenting is usually given more attention (Lamb 2010). This is also true in practice, for instance, social workers usually engage with the mother first in relation to child welfare issues (Clapton 2009; 2013).

Due to social and economic changes over the last half-century, families have became smaller and more movable, and women take part in labour as much as men in many societies. Therefore, fathers are involving much more in the lives, of their children doing duties their father never did, and their grandfathers never imagined doing (Nease & Austin 2010).

Financial contributions were historically the central definition for fathering, but fathers are now charged with new involved abilities regarding nurturing and caregiving, emotional and practical supports, spending time in leisure and play activities and moral guidance (Cabrera *et al*. 2000). These involvements have a positive impact on children's behaviour (Lamb 2004; Marsiglio *et al*. 2000). Lack of paternal involvement has an adverse relation with children's delinquency (Carson 2006), bullying behaviour (Flouri & Buchanan 2003),

externalised and internalised problems (Stocker *et al*. 2003). However, Steinberg and Silk (2002) report that children talk to their mothers about emotional and relational matters whereas they tend to interact with their fathers in relation to information and material supports. These patterns show that fathers have more recently developed skills in practice, but perceptions of only being a financial supporter remain.

Where fathers live is a critical feature of fatherhood as socio-history, culture and politics influence expectations of fathering quality and relationship with children (Hakoama & Ready 2011; Roggman *et al*. 2013). This influence shows that fatherhood is continually socially constructed (Doherty *et al*. 1998; Zoja 2001). As a result of social construction, 'new fatherhood' is a term, which comes up when examining contemporary experiences.

'New' reflects ideas that fathers are regarded as more modern than the previous, (but these notions will become 'old' in subsequent generations as fatherhood is always under development). This dilemma of new and old can be seen in research on fathering, i.e. Ozgun *et al*. (2013) and Juhari *et al*. (2013) report that fathers call themselves more modern than their fathers. The feel seems to be that of fatherhood changes over time and will be newer than the previous, earlier norms. In other words, ‘fatherhood’ as a concept is always ongoing.

2.1.2 Turkish parenting and fathering

Turkish culture contains a mix of the traditional and modern, secular and religious, and patriarchal and egalitarian, given Turkey’s location is placed between Europe and Asia (Tecik 2012, Kagitcibasi 2005; Sen *et al*. 2014). This has an impact on Turkish people’s attitudes to, and positions in, relationships with others.

Turkish culture and families have switched from patriarchal control to egalitarian principles since Ottoman Empire (Kagitcibasi 2005). The establishment of the Republic of Turkey in 1923 was a starting point for the changing of family relationships in Turkey, but the main alteration commenced shifts from rural to urban areas because of the industrialisation of agriculture after the 1950s (Tecik 2012, 70). This process had an impact on women's situation in the family as women have become more independent of their spouses. Consequently, fathers' and mothers' responsibility in the family have changed, and some of the rigid barriers among family members have decreased (Ataca 2006). However, we know little about how Turkish parents parent.

Fatherhood in Turkey has a particular meaning; it hints at 'breadwinner' in the family, and 'the head of the family' in the community (Sancar 2009, 121). Turkish men traditionally have authority over wives and children; husbands undertake the role of breadwinner, while the wives assume household duties. Thus husbands keep a financial and patriarchal authority in the family (Tecik 2012, 41). Moreover, Turkish men hold possession of power, controlling the norms of tradition that rule women and children because they hold public roles of authority and prestige in the wider society (Ozgun *et al*. 2013, 1976). In other words, Turkish fathers' attitudes toward the family are likely to be more authoritarian than other family members. For example, Saricam *et al*. (2012) outline that Turkish fathers have greater authoritarian attitudes towards their children than mothers (p. 2776). Furthermore, both adolescent boys and girls perceive their fathers as the more authoritarian parent (Telsiz 1998; Sancar 2009).

However, as indicated above these roles are shifting and research has shown that Turkish fathers today attempt to be better fathers as a response to their own fathers and they want to be friendlier to their children than their own fathers were to them (Ozgun *et al*. 2013, 1972) by showing love, spending more time with their family and taking more interest in children's

developmental stages (Boratav *et al*. 2014; Yalcinoz 2011). Today, it can be said that Turkish fathering styles look backward and forward, and consist of a mix of traditional and modern attitudes (Tecik 2012).

Many contemporary Turkish fathers are affectionate and playful with small children, but authority and expectations of respect begin ruling the relationship as children grow, especially by the time a child reaches adolescence (Ataca 2006, 473). Consequently, today's Turkish fathers face a dilemma between some pressures to preserve an authoritarian father figure in the family and their desire to develop more intimate relationships with their children. For instance, Tecik (2012, 86) reported that most fathers in her study were afraid of their own fathers, but they did not want their children to be afraid of them. However, they also wanted to maintain a formal relationship with their children.

As regards research on Turkish fathers, 48 Turkish fathers of children aged 6 months to 18 years participated in Basay and Aksoy's (2017) study describing fathering metaphors. Yilmazcetin (2003) also studied Turkish fathers who had preadolescent children investigating relations between father's involvement and their children's school performance, total competence and behavioural problems. Although the studies engaged with Turkish fathers, they did not provide detailed knowledge of how fathers father.

Turkish adolescents' perceptions of fathering have also been analysed by considering gender (Aksoy *et al*. 2008), their behavioural problems (Ulusoy *et al*. 2005) and autonomy and school achievement (Yilmazer 2007). These studies did not focus on detailing paternal parenting.

I now consider parenting in general. Before I do so, it is necessary to discuss the 'recipients' of parenting, in the case of this study, adolescents.

2.2 Adolescents

The **age** of the child is a significant factor in any exploration of parenting as changes with age in a child's physical size, cognitive and linguistic ability, emotional maturity, and social skills contribute to the developing relations between parent and child. In response to their children's changing characteristics, parents show affection, communicate, discipline, and provide care in very different ways (Holden 2010, 123). For example, parent-child relationships become more egalitarian during adolescence (De Goede *et al*. 2009).

Research on fathering or fatherhood has often focused on fathers who have younger children, especially under 3 years old (e.g. Pekkarakas 2010; Dayton *et al*. 2016; Fields-Olivieri *et al.* 2017; Ito *et al.* 2018; Ren & Zhang 2018). Consequently, we have little knowledge about relationships between fathers and adolescents. This study has chosen to focus on adolescence as a particular age group in order to explore fathering at this stage. One justification for choosing this age group is that there will be more possibilities for children's contribution to the research as they are better able to express and articulate their view.

The World Health Organisation (2015) identifies adolescence as the period in human growth and development that happens after childhood and before adulthood, from ages 10 to 19. Adolescence is perceived as one of the most critical phases in our lives because it involves many new social and psychological challenges (Lerner & Galambos 1998). The phase of adolescent has been expressed in colourful ways. G. Stanley Hall, a pioneer of research into adolescence, called it a time of "heightened storm and stress" (1904, xiii). Adolescence is a time of change but not necessarily resulting in rebellious youth (Holden 2010, 208). It is important to note common stereotypes that describe adolescents as being difficult, oppositional, and moody due to "raging hormones".

Around the world, it seems that there is generally a decline in the time parents and children spend together while children move through adolescence (Bronte-Tinkew *et al*. 2005; Dubas & Gerris 2002; Hakoama & Ready 2011; McGue *et al*. 2005; Steinberg & Silk 2002) because adolescents tend to spend more time with peers in this period (Brown 2004; Furstenburgh & Harris 2000). However, parents remain a crucial factor in adolescents' lives (Laursen & Collins 2009) and the impact of parenting, particularly fathering, can become a central site of, especially, moral and ethical socialisation, and shifts to independence and autonomy (Richter 2006, 59).

Adolescents become increasingly motivated to look for independence from parents after the age of 13 (Collins & Steinberg 2008, 566). This autonomy has an impact on their relationships with their parents emotionally and behaviourally (Bates & Pettit 2007). Moreover, younger adolescent children reported perceiving more authoritative parenting behaviour than older children (Erginbay 2014; Altinoglu-Dikmeler 2009).

In Turkey, most of the existing research has engaged with only undergraduate students' perceptions of their parents' parenting (e.g. Demirli 2013; Sumer & Gungor 1999; Alvan 2015). Some research has also explored parents' own perspectives of their parenting, but they engaged with only mothering (e.g. Altinay 2012) or both those parents whose children were under 6 years old (e.g. Bolattekin 2014; Guner 2011; Ozgun *et al*. 2013). Other research related to parenting has looked at only adolescents' perspectives and not engaged with fathers and mothers (e.g. Yilmaz 2000; Er 2014). Few studies have engaged fathers and adolescents together in Turkey (Aksoy *et al*. 2008; Basay & Aksoy 2017): those that do engage across all children's ages or link with a child's problem. Consequently, there is a need to pay attention to Turkish fathers' parenting of adolescents without the constraints of a problem-focussed approach.

The experience of parental behaviour varies from one adolescent to another due to their parents' different parenting. In the following sections, parenting is analysed to further understand fathers' behaviour.

2.3 Parenting styles

Parenting can be explored from many perspectives, and indeed it has, however, a dominant and substantial trend has been to investigate parenting **in action**, especially parenting styles.

Research has observed associations between parenting styles and offspring's behaviour over the last seven decades. The most well-known framework for explaining child-rearing was developed by Diana Baumrind (1968, 1971, 1973, 1991b). Baumrind's parenting styles have a fourfold typology: authoritative, authoritarian, permissive and neglectful. It can be summarised that the main characteristic features of parents in their parenting styles are that authoritative parents tend to engage in conversation with reason; authoritarian parents tend to enforce with their children to do what they want; permissive parents tend to provide and allow children to do what they want: neglectful parents tend not to care what their children do. The main components and classification of parenting styles are represented in the methodology chapter, and I will return to the question of the usefulness of Baumrind there.

Studies on fathering styles in Turkey have covered a variety of age groups, although most of them have been with undergraduate students whose age range was between 17 and 38 years. Permissive parenting is more dominant in Ulukaya (2011) and Demirli (2013), but authoritarian and authoritative parenting are more prevalent in other studies, respectively Gungor and Sumer (1999) and Yilmazer (2007). The results show that studies on Turkish fathering styles are not in concordance to each other. Participants' different

age groups, as well as various development stages, may explain this variation.

Smetana (1995) engaged with the perspectives of American fathers and adolescents about fathering styles and found that fathers and children had different views on fathers' behaviour. Authoritative was more notable in fathers' reports whereas authoritarian parenting was more noticeable in children's reports. Moreover, authoritarian parenting had more frequency in fathers' reports than children's. Therefore, there is a need to explore father-child pairs for comprehending such differing views.

The fathering styles research has mostly paid attention to children's views about their fathers' behaviour, and there are few studies on fathering. Most of the studies on fathering styles were conducted in America whereas other studies undertook research with European adolescents. These studies mainly employed Baumrind's fourfold parenting styles, except for Nguyen (2008), Nguyen and Cheung (2009) and Rabotej-Saric and Sakic (2014).

Studies on adolescents' perceptions of fathering in America do not match to each other explicitly, but authoritarian parenting is more noticeable in the study of Fletcher *et al*. (1999), Berge *et al*. (2010) and Bolkan *et al*. (2011) whereas **authoritative** parenting is more visible in the study of Milevsky *et al*. (2007; 2008) and Bronte-Tinkew *et al*. (2006). Furthermore, the results from studies on adolescents' perceptions of fathering in Europe (e.g. De Maggio and Zappula (2014) in Italy; Hoove *et al*. (2011) in Netherlands and Rabotej-Saric and Sakic (2014) in Crotia) do not harmonise. With the latter, it can be argued that there is not concordance in fathering studies globally. Culture and sub-culture may shed light on this inconsistency.

Additionally, relating to measurement method, 'The Authoritative Parenting Measure' (Steinberg *et al*. 1994) was employed in the study of Milevsky *et al*. (2007; 2008) and Di Maggio and Zappula (2014). 'The Perceived Parenting

Style Survey' (McClun and Merrell 1998) was also applied by Raboteg-Saric and Sakic (2014). Other studies also generated their survey based on demanding and responsive questions. Thus, the inconsistent results on fathering may also be a result of interpretations that use different measurement methods.

Parenting styles research does not reveal the detailed ingredients of parents' behaviour so the noticeable components of parenting in the father-child relationship are identified and analysed in the following.

2.4 Parenting ingredients

The father-child relationship covers various elements, but monitoring, conflict, closeness, spending time and gender are most significant components in the relationship. Social factors such as culture and religion are also considerable influences on parenting (Lamb 2010).

2.4.1 Monitoring

Control is based on knowing about children's activities at home and outside. However, the level of paternal monitoring declines when children are older (Bronte-Tinkew *et al*. 2006). Consequently, fathers know less about children's lives than in previous years.

Bronte-Tinkew *et al*. (2006) reported that higher levels of father's monitoring are significantly related to lowering the risk of first substance misuse by adolescents. Furthermore, Smetana *et al*. (2002) found that lower levels of problems among African-American adolescents are related to the greater adolescent-rated parental control. These studies show that fathers' control is beneficial for adolescents as a protective factor in terms of risky behaviour or problems.

Adolescents tend to spend more time with peers in this period (Brown 2004; Furstenburgh & Harris 2000), so peers are one of the main monitoring areas in adolescents' lives (Brown *et al*. 2007). Buyuksahin-Cevik and Atici (2008) reported that adolescents are monitored in relation to 'who are their friends', 'time, e.g. spending with friends', 'place, e.g. being with friends' and 'activities, e.g. doing with friends'. In this way, not only adolescents' peers but also adolescents' activities come to light. However, adolescents may lie about their peers or avoid giving too much detail about their peers (Brown & Bakken 2011). Therefore, knowledge from adolescents may not cover all their activities.

Over monitoring may also have a negative impact on an adolescent's development because Ozdemir *et al*. (2013) reported that low self-control is positively related to paternal peer approval and monitoring.

Control also appears in children subject to adverse emotional approaches such as embarrassing, accusing and ignoring. This psychological control is exercised in parent's disciplining of children. However, psychological control may positively affects adolescents' loneliness (Sayil & Kindap 2010; Yaban *et al*. 2013), deviant peer involvement (Kindap *et al*. 2008; Yaban *et al*. 2014) and depression, aggression and delinquency (Pettit *et al*. 2001; Soenens 2008). Yaban *et al*. (2013) found that one-third of fathers reported lower psychological control than did their children. It may indicate that fathers are not aware of their psychological control or they underestimate it. Nevertheless, psychological control negatively influences adolescents.

Whilst over monitoring protects children from hazards, it potentially harms adolescents' development. Therefore, it is crucial to consider the implications of control, either as a protective factor or in avoiding its adverse effects.

2.4.2 Conflict

Collins (1995) claims that conflict between parents and children is more visible during the late adolescence. Tecik (2012) also reported that fathers' problems with their children get bigger when their children are older or an adolescent. Therefore, conflict is more noticeable when children reach their teenage stage.

Autonomy is a core conflict issue in the parent-child relationship when adolescents seek an equal relationship and freedom (Collins & Steinberg 2006; Shaffer & Kipp 2007; Karagoz 2016; Gozcu-Yavas 2012) and parents seek to keep their authority over their children. Therefore, the relationship between authority and autonomy in the relationship can be triggers for conflict.

Conflict appears in the father-adolescent relationship when fathers make certain decisions on behalf of children and, as a result, children perceive that their fathers do not trust them (Cafoglu & Okcu 2013). In this case, the issue of protection may explain the conflict between fathers and adolescents, but extreme protection has a negative effect on relationships (Siyez & Aysan 2007).

Another noticeable conflict occurs when parents intervene in their children’s relationships with their peers (Brown & Bakken 2011). Buyuksahin-Cevik and Atici (2008) report that adolescents attempt to resist the intervention, but some of parent’s attempts are successful. Clothes and education also appear as a topic of disagreement in relationships (Karagoz 2016; Gursu 2011; Ucanok & Gure 2012). When conflict is present, whatever the issue, children perceive that their parents do not understand them (Bilgin 2000; Karagoz 2016).

Adolescents' mood variability also affects parent-child conflicts (Bell & Calkins 2000). Given mood variability, adolescents struggle to control their emotions and parent-child interactions may become difficult. Therefore, mood variability increases conflict between parents and children (Maciejewski *et al*. 2014).

Mothers in these situations act as a buffer in the father-child relationship when fathers are in conflict with their adolescents (Tecik 2012). Furthermore, relatives also assist fathers mediate the father-child relationship and aim to reduce conflict (Ustunel 2010). Therefore, mothers and relatives play a fundamental role as buffers solving father-child conflicts.

2.4.3 Closeness

Closeness is considered as an umbrella term for the degree to which people influence and are influenced by each other (Collins & Laursen 2004). During adolescence, closeness seems a different form than in the earlier parent-child interaction; for instance, expressions of feeling increase whereas the intimacy of cuddling and joint interaction declines (Hartup & Laursen, 1999). In other words, physical attachment is partly replaced with emotional expression when children move into adolescence.

Father-child closeness in earlier years predicts closeness in adolescence (Flouri & Buchanan 2002b). However, adolescents perceive there is less involvement and engagement with their fathers when they are older (Rizvi 2015). This change is a result of adolescents' becoming more autonomous (Altinoglu-Dikmeer 2009).

Closeness has a positive impact on children's developments, especially in minimising emotional and behavioural problems (Flouri & Buchanan 2002a). An adolescent's well-being is also improved by a close father-child

relationship (Yuan & Hamilton 2006). Consequently, closeness promotes a child's health and welfare.

Adolescents do not have the same closeness to both parents as they perceive mothers as being closer than fathers (Steinberg & Silk 2002; Sefer 2006; Shehata and Ramadan 2010; Bronte-Thinkew *et al*. 2006). This closeness may be explained by affection and involvement as fathers can be harsher disciplinarians than mothers (Saricam 2012; Yalcinoz 2011). Consequently, adolescents have easier communication with their mothers than their fathers (Levin & Currie 2010; Brooks *et al*. 2015; Shek 2000). However, Brooks *et al*. (2015) reported that there is a significant positive trend towards easier or relaxed communication between fathers and adolescents across 32 countries in Europe and North America from 2002 to 2010.

2.4.4 Spending time together

Fathers use the opportunity to show their parenting when they are with their children. Therefore, spending time is an essential ingredient in their relationship with their children. However, the father-child relationship decreases when their children are older (Bronte-Tinkew *et al*. (2006), so fathers have fewer opportunities than in previous years to be with their children (Ashbourne & Daly 2012; Zuzanek 2000).

Another handicap in spending time is fathers' work hours and schedules. Long hours reduce fathers' interaction with their children (Juhari *et al*. 2013; Crouter *et al*. 2001; Ozgun *et al*. 2013). Therefore, fathers' available time is one of the important indicators for evidencing togetherness with their children. Children's available time such as school is also an essential factor in terms of spending time together. Consequently, the availability of fathers and children at the same time is a key element in the amount of father-child interaction.

Fathers and children can spend any time together, but on the weekend there is more available time than the weekdays due to work and school. Shehata and Ramadan (2010) claim that adolescent children in Egypt have more positive interaction with their fathers on the weekend than on weekdays. However, Ashbourne and Daly (2010b, 9) reported that many of their Canadian adolescent participants spent time with friends on Friday and Saturday nights as an opportunity for being away from their parents. Their study indicated that the weekend is an opportunity for fathers and adolescents to spend time together, but some teenage children instead regarded it as an opportunity for spending time with their friends.

As adolescents get older, they have more autonomy to organise social activities with their fathers than in the early years (Ashbourne and Daly 2010b). Given the interest of fathers and children in doing similar activities, their engagement develops. Engagement with functional work activities is perceived as spending time (Boratav *et al*. 2014; Tecik 2012), but fathers and children also do other activities in Turkey including going on picnics, praying and watching football together (Tecik 2012).

2.4.5 Gender

The literature on paternal control of adolescents' activities shows that control is more present for girls than boys (Cetin-Gunduz and Cok 2015; Dinn and Sunar 2017; Azaiza 2005), but Aksoy *et al*. (2008) reported that fathers monitor their adolescents regardless of gender. These differing results may relate to children's activities regardless of being at home or outside. For instance, adolescent boys have more freedom for going out than that of girls (Yavas 2012a).

Additionally, girls are (perceived as) more emotional than boys (Uvey 2014) so implication being that fathers' approach is more gentle to their daughters

than their sons. Since paternal psychological control has been evidenced to harm adolescent girls more than boys (Coley 2003), fathers may be aware of the outcomes of psychological control with their daughters and, therefore, they worry about the impact of their behaviour. Hence, girls perceive less paternal psychological control than that of boys (Dinn & Sunar 2017; Yaban *et al*. 2014).

Adolescent boys perceive their fathers as more authoritarian and judgemental than that of girls (Sefer 2006; Guneysu *et al*. 2017; Dinn and Sunar *et al*. 2017). Sunar (2002) also found that fathers' affection is more noticeable in the perceptions of girls than boys' perceptions over three generations. Therefore, girls appear to observe more favour and kindness from their fathers than boys (Moharib 2013).

Children are usually reluctant to disclose their activities to their parents, but adolescent girls tend to share their lives with their fathers more than that of boys (Smetana *et al*. 2006; Cetin-Gunduz and Cok 2015). Fathers pay more attention to disclosures of information about their sons' peers than their daughters' (Buyuksahin-Cevik & Atici 2008).

Father’s involvement has an impact on reducing children's delinquency and substance use, but the involvement is more beneficial for boys than girls (Bronte-Tinkew *et al*. 2006; Carson 2006). The results also indicate that fathers' engagement is related to protection.

Overall, fathers' interactions with children are an opportunity to model a positive influence. Although contemporary fathers attempt to have an equal relationship with children, a paternal role model is more dominant for boys than girls in traditional families (Guneysu et a. 2017).

Social environments reflect beliefs, attitudes and behaviour over children, so parenting also needs to be understood as socially constructed by culture and

religion. In the following parts, I analyse how culture and religion affect parents' behaviour.

2.4.6 Culture

Parenting is determined by parents' beliefs regarding to child-rearing and development (Holden 2010). Parents knowledge of child development is culturally built (Miller 1998; Goodnow 1988). Notably, the culture in which parents live largely determines beliefs about parenting as shared beliefs and behaviours in a specific society principally reflect how a culture is constituted. Consequently, norms, values and attitudes in a culture evoke various parenting styles (Sen *et al*. 2014, 176).

Different cultures ascribe different meanings to parenting. For instance, authoritarian parenting seems to have more detrimental effects on children in Western European cultures than Asian cultures where it is applied as a training approach rather than being an expression of adverse influence (Fung and Lau 2009; Lansford *et al*. 2005).

Authority is the main expectation of parents in traditional cultures, and it must be followed without question and without asking for clarification (Levine and New 2008). However, it does not indicate that parents in a traditional culture have less affection for their children (Arnett 2013, 185). Thus, affection and authority can be seen together. For example, Hardway and Fuligni (2006) reported that parent-adolescent closeness was observed in what are considered traditional cultures, especially in Asian countries.

Parke and Buriel (2006) revealed parental involved with adolescents among ethnic groups in the United States. Child independence and obeying rules seemed more of a concern across Hispanic-Amerian and African parents whereas child autonomy and peer relationship are more valued among

Asian-American parents. These patterns reflect that ethnic groups have different parenting even if they live in the same culture.

Most research on parenting in Western countries shows that authoritative parenting has better outcomes for adolescents than any other parenting style. However, Garcia and Garcia (2014) reported that permissive parenting has more significant positive effects on adolescents' psychological adjustment than authoritative parenting in South European and Latin American countries. Furthermore, authoritarian parenting has no adverse influence on Asian-American adolescents (Huynh & Fuligni 2008). These results show that cultural contexts shape relationships between parenting and a child's developmental outcomes. Therefore, there is a need to focus on a specific culture to explore parenting in context. This study offers such a possibility. And then unique aspect of this study is its inclusion of the question of religiosity, and how this might influence fathering behaviour.

2.4.7 Religion

Religion influences moral sentiment in a society (Rzayeva 2007) so that religious expectation stresses model behaviour in parent-child relationships, particularly in Islam. Respecting parents (Lokman 31/14; Ahkaf 46/15; Meryem 19/14), complimenting (Isra 17/23; Bakara 2/83) and having positive relationships with parents is a religious virtuous (Tirmizi, Birr, 1, 1905) are displayed in verse of the Quran and hadith. Thus, religion contributes to long-term parenting aims in particular obedience and respect for authority (Holden 2010).

Encouraging and supporting participation in religious activities is regarded as a protective factor due to minimising the possibility of risky behaviours such as delinquency, drug use and early sexual activities (Holden 2010). Hence, religious engagement has a positive impact on desired behaviours through protective features (Snider *et al*. 2004). Parents are also considered as

active protective agents since one of their religious responsibilities is to protect their children.

Given that Turkish society includes an active mix of secular and religious features (Kagitcibasi 2005), the subject of Turkish fathers and their fathering offers an interesting opportunity to explore parenting in a culture where religion is central to daily and family life - a less-explored subject in the parenting literature.

Religion is considered to influence beliefs, attitudes and behaviours through the mechanism of social control, social support and values (Wallace & Williams 1997). Thus, religious beliefs, like culture, have a significant contextual impact on how parents think about child-rearing and their offspring. In other words, religion also shapes parenting behaviour (Russell *et al*. 2010). Religion is, therefore, another vital element to investigate in terms of parenting.

Crockett *et al*. (2010) examine adolescents' views of their Chinese American and Filipino American parents and report that Filipino Americans are less likely than Chinese Americans to maintain traditional Asian cultural values because of the power of religion, namely Catholicism. It can be said from this result that people from almost similar cultures might have different parenting values, as they have diverse religious backgrounds. In other words, religious values might have a differential impact on parenting behaviour. Therefore, it is worth examining religiosity as an ingredient in parenting.

However, there are not clear criteria regarding how religiosity is conceptualised due to various factors including belief, practice, informal affiliation, ritual initiation, knowledge, ethics, or how people are regarded by others (McAndrew & Voas 2011). In other words, religiosity is embedded particular cultures, individual interpretation and practice (Widdicombe 2011).

Consequently, there is no particular tool to investigate relationships between religiosity and parenting.

Parents and children usually have shared similarities in their religious beliefs and religious behaviour. Kilavuz (2002) also reported that religion was adopted more by adolescents when perceiving someone as a religious role model. Hence, adolescents perceive that their family has a significant impact on their religiosity (Sahin 2007).

Religious parents are perceived as closer, warmer and more supportive than less religious parents (Bartkowski & Wilcox 2000; King & Furrow 2004; Snider *et al*. 2004). Thus, there is a positive correlation between responsiveness and religiosity. Sahin (2007) also found that adolescents' religiosity is influenced in positive ways by enjoying spending time with their fathers that comes with joint participation in religious activities.

Lloyd *et al*. (1990) reported that authoritative parenting has a tremendous effect on children's' religiosity, but **authoritarian** parenting has the opposite outcome for children. Thus, supportive behaviour increases a child's religiosity whereas coercive behaviour reduces it.

Overall, research on fathering has focused on relations between parenting and children's outcomes rather than a deeper understanding the parenting. Thus, fatherhood and fathering literature cover relatively superficial information about fathers' behaviour with their adolescents, and perceptions of themselves and plain fathering behaviour. Additionally, the vast majority of the fathering research has been undertaken in anglophone societies (Lamb 2010) and we know much less as to whether the insights we have as regards fathers and fathering pertain in other cultures and non-English speaking societies. Researchers have also neglected the influence of religion on parenting. This dissertation addresses these gaps.

Chapter 3 Research Design and Method

This chapter presents research aims and questions, the advantages of a mixed-method, Baumrind's parenting styles, thematic analysis, demographic variables, research instruments, the process of recruiting participants for the survey and the interview, and analyses processes for each data set. Translation, reliability, validity, ethics and reflexivity are also concerned.

3.1 Research aims and questions

This study aims to comprehend Turkish fathers' parenting of adolescents by analysing the perspectives of fathers and adolescents in order to contribute to 'fathering' and 'fatherhood' literature with its outcomes. Therefore, the study seeks to answer the main research question, **'what do Turkish fathers do when they parent their adolescents?'**.

As discussed in the previous chapter, fathers and adolescents play an essential role in the father-child relationship. Thus, this study aims to investigate their perspectives separately when they interact with each other. The supplementary research question for fathers is **'how do fathers describe their fathering?'** whereas the additional research question for adolescents is **'how do adolescents describe their fathers' fathering?'**

Parenting literature indicates that parents' behaviour is affected by children's age, grade and gender and also parents' age, education and income. Therefore, it is essential to analyse the relation between fathering and demographic variables such as fathers' age and educational level, monthly family income, adolescents' age, grade and gender. This study seeks to answer a supplementary question, **'do the demographic variables influence fathering?'**.

As indicated earlier, religion has a notable effect on parenting. Hence, this study aims to examine the relation between fathering and Islam by asking a supplementary question, **' does religion has an impact on fathering?**'.

Comparing the perspectives of fathers and children about fathering is also crucial to comprehend similar and different features on fathering. Thus, the study aims to correlate the reports of fathers and adolescents about fathering, and another research question comes out that **'what are the similar and dissimilar characters in the descriptions of fathers and adolescents on fathering?'**.

Overall, this study seeks to encompass some of the critical lacunae in the parenting literature by investigating the influence of demographic variables and religion on Turkish fathering as well as how Turkish fathers do parenting and how their adolescents perceive. In the following, the advantages of a mixed-method are presented while answering the research questions.

3.2 Mixed method

This study is designed to employ a mixed-method approach as quantitative and qualitative methodologies together explore Turkish fathering deeply. Qualitative research applies open-ended questions whereas quantitative research use 'embedded standardised scale' in the structured questionnaires (Weathington *et al*. 2010). Namely, quantitative research employs numbers whereas qualitative research applies for words. As a result of different data collection types, mixed method research covers multiple patterns of data in terms of words and numbers (Johnson & Christensen 2007). Thus, a mixed method affords the forms of words and numbers regarding fathering.

Both qualitative and quantitative research are interested in participants' perspectives and actions, but qualitative research engages with the meaning of behaviours whereas quantitative research focuses on behaviours even if

not entirely supported (Brannen 2007). There is a need to understand fathering with behaviour and meaning from participants' perspectives so that this study employed a mixed method.

The main aim of quantitative research is to examine theories by a deductive approach while the principal purpose of qualitative research is to understand participants' behaviour by an inductive approach, so both methods apply for logical forms to analyse data (Padgett 2008; Rubin & Babbie 2008; Brannen 2007). Thus, this study aimed to use deductive and inductive approaches to consider fathering in relation to theory and behaviour so that a mixed method allows it. For example, employing questionnaires about demographic variables and fathering styles provided a brief classification of fathering styles and their relationships with the variables, and these outcomes shed light on understanding in-depth-interviews better by a deductive approach. In turn, in-depth-interviews gave particular knowledge about Turkish fathering, and this knowledge explained the questionnaire results better by an inductive approach.

Samples in quantitative research can be representative of the population as it reaches a larger sample size via random sampling procedures. Because of the sample size, quantitative research has a facility to generalise its outcomes (Creswell 2013; Rubin & Babbie 2008). Samples in qualitative research cover smaller size than quantitative research, but its investigation provides an opportunity to reach a deep conclusion (Creswell 2013).

Research on parenting has often applied quantitative approaches using parenting style questionnaires (e.g. Er 2014; Bolkan *et al*. 2011; Smetana 1995; Alvan 2015). Quantitative methods maximise the purity of the method via minimising confounding variables with a statistic formula (Murray & Chamberlain 1999). Thus, quantitative research goals to describe a participant group with generalisable results through statistical interference (Charmaz 2006). Employing a quantitative approach provided an impression

of Turkish fathering concerning religiosity and demographics regarding age, education and gender. However, this approach was unable to cover in-depth exploration of Turkish fathering involving feelings, beliefs and perceptions.

Qualitative method assists in examining the individuals' interpretations with specific to common themes in social or human issues (Creswell 2013). Transcripts of interviews offer large amounts of empirical data with multiple meanings related to individual and social elements (Walker & Myrick 2006, 549). Consequently, a qualitative approach allowed deeper and nuanced understandings of Turkish fathers' parenting. However, this approach was unable to engage with large groups.

Each method notifies and reinforces each other in mixed method research so that it is called 'methodological triangulation' (Mason 2002). Thus, a mixed method design enables a 'deeper' understanding of considered arguments (Barker *et al*. 2002). Mainly, the mixed method offers to grasp fathering with more profound conclusions.

The primary aim of the mixed method in this research is a complementarity, which enhances and clarifies the results of the research with different aspects of the same phenomena. This research is designed as a concurrent strategy, which qualitative and quantitative data are collected in the same period. The qualitative approach focuses on participants' perspectives and experience on fathering through the interview and thematic analysis whereas the quantitative strategy concentrates participants' ratings of fathers' behaviour and parenting styles via questionnaires and statistical tests.

Employing a mixed method offered a better understanding of Turkish fathers' parenting as applying both inductive and deductive approaches allow reaching objective and valid conclusions. In the following, Baumrind's parenting styles are explained in a way of exploring the quantitative data.

3.3 Baumrind’s parenting styles

The original Baumrind’s approach frames symbolised the dimensions of parental control, identifying three parenting styles authoritarian, authoritative and permissive. Later, Maccoby and Martin (1983) added responsiveness to Baumrind's work as another dimension. Subsequently, they developed four group parenting styles by crossing the dimensions of responsiveness and demandingness. The fourfold typology covers authoritarian, authoritative, permissive and neglectful. This more recent version is also called Baumrind's parenting styles.

The dimension of demandingness reflects the degree about requirements, which children obey parents' rules and expectations, and it is also known as strict control and supervision. The dimensions of responsiveness symbolises the extent of parents' loving, warmth and concern for their children, and is also know as acceptance and involvement (Arnett 2013, 182).

Parents in the *authoritative* category tend express both demanding and responsive behaviour towards their children. They control their children's behaviour via setting clear rules and limits, but they provide their children noteworthy autonomy within those rules and limits. They are also considerate of their children needs. Assertiveness, responsibility and self-control behaviour are expected. Baumrind (1983) emphasised that authoritative parenting had better outcomes for children than other styles regardless of gender (p. 138). Their children are likely to have more independence, self-assurance, creativity, and be socially skilled (Cook *et al*. 2011; Steinberg 2000), more positive and self-regulative (Jackson *et al*. 2005; Purdie *et al*. 2004).

Parents in the *authoritarian* category tend to have high demandingness and low responsiveness to their children. They expect their children to follow their rules and requests without any question. They also use the strength of their power over their children by employing threat and punishment. Their children

are likely to have lower social and academic skills and self-confidence (Baumrind 1991b), inefficient coping of everyday stressors (Zhou *et al*. 2008), more depression, delinquency, and alcohol problems (Driscoll *et al*. 2008; Chan & Koo 2011; Barber 2002; Grusec *et al*. 2014); low self-assurance and socially adept behaviour (Arnett 2013).

Parents in the *permissive* category tend to have high responsiveness and low demandingness of their children. They focus on their children's satisfaction rather than discipline as they believe that control harms children's health and development. Love, warmth and freedom are considerably visible in their relationship. Their children have low self-control and school achievement (Baumrind 1973, 1991a, 1991b), immaturity and irresponsible behaviour (Arnett 2013), and more school misconduct problems (Driscoll *et al*. 2008).

Parents in the *neglectful* category tend to have low demandingness and responsiveness. Affection and attachment are almost invisible in their relationship as they pay attention to their demands rather than their children's needs. Their children are likely to exhibit depressive and promiscuous behaviour and substance use problems (Baumrind 1991a, 1991b; Driscoll *et al*. 2008; Arnett 2013). Table 1 shows the combinations of demandingness and responsiveness in Baumrind’s parenting styles.

Baumrind's parenting styles are an instrumental approach to examine relations between variations in parenting and children's outcomes. Therefore, research has focused on seeking an answer for a reasonable question that is 'which parenting style is best?'. However, as a result of this approach, parenting is not as deeply understood, as it could be.

Research on parenting styles used to consider adolescents as ‘end users’ or ‘consumers’ of parenting styles using only adolescents’ reports rather than engaging with multiple views. Although parents' views on their parenting

behaviour have been recently considered in research, mothers' perspectives are more dominant than fathers' views. Consequently, there is a need to engage with multiple perspectives, in particular incorporating the father, rather than using only the children's reports and focusing on mothers.

Table 1: *Baumrind's parenting styles by crossing the dimensions of demandingness and responsiveness*

		Demandingness	
		High	**Low**
Responsiveness	**High**	**Authoritative parenting**	**Permissive parenting**
	Low	**Authoritarian parenting**	**Neglectful parenting**

Baumrind's parenting styles have also been criticised for paying no attention to social factors such as culture and religion. She formulated her work in western cultures so that her work is called 'westernised'. However, research in Asian and Latin cultures has reported different research results (e.g. Fung & Lau 2009; Garcia & Garcia 2014). Religious effects upon parenting behaviours have also been ignored. Baumrind's parenting styles are highly useful for exploring how parents parent, but there is an additional approach to address its lack of more holistic factors. Qualitative data help to enlighten the factors. Thus, thematic analysis is explained in a way of exploring the qualitative data in the following.

3.4 Thematic analysis (TA)

Thematic analysis (TA) is a process for naming and examining cases in a data set by considering their meanings (Bruan & Clarke 2006). Themes come out from raw data at the end of this process and each theme includes descriptions related to research interrogation (Joffe 2012).

TA provides a more convenient layout of analysis as it does not demand the detailed theoretical knowledge, but TA may employ a specific theoretical framework or a few theoretical approaches together (Braund & Clark 2006). The theoretical implication depends on the research approach. This study applies TA for understanding fathering from the perspectives of fathers and adolescents without any theoretical framework even if the questionnaire was analysed by Baumrind's parenting styles. So, TA in this study reflects what the qualitative data set displays fathering through reaching a rich and detailed knowledge.

An inductive approach employs to identify themes in data, which are collected via a qualitative method such as interview or focus group. Each participant's expressions are analysed and clustered by the inductive approach to identify themes so that the emerging themes are driven from the raw data (Charmaz 2006).

TA is a very adaptable approach as it can be adjusted for requirements of studies by offering deep and detailed outcomes (Braun and Clark 2006). However, Holloway and Todres (2003) warn that this adaptability can let inconsistency and a deficit of coherence. Therefore, researchers pay attention to similarities and differences in the views of participants by briefing the main elements of the data in order to reduce potential validity issues (King 2004). So, phases of thematic analysis are offered as a guide to avoid the possible pitfall (e.g. Braun & Clark 2006; Braun *et al*. 2019; Vaismoradi *et al*. 2016), but it is not a linear process of directly driving to the next phase

(Braun & Clarke 2006). Thus, the analysis needs a consistent going back and forward between the whole data set as a recursive process.

Vaismoradi *et al*. (2016) suggest four phases for developing themes in qualitative data via TA; *initialisation* is to read transcriptions and code participants' expressions, *construction* is to classify, compare and label codes with descriptions, *rectification* is to link themes for established knowledge, and *finalisation* is to progress the storyline. Braun and Clark (2006) also recommend that researchers read the full transcriptions at least once before commencing coding as this process offers a chance to figure out opinions and description of potential themes.

Researchers highlight that it is essential to be aware of previous studies about research subjects to avoid ‘reinventing the wheel’ (Clarke 2005; Gilgun 2005) and improve analysis with more detailed features of a data (Tuckett 2005). However, Olsyhanky (1996) warns that the process of examining literature may manipulate the results or make it more challenging to detect a new point. Therefore, there is a dilemma about analysing qualitative data with or without exploring the literature. Larossa (2005) claims that researchers cannot stay away from being influenced by previous knowledge. Thus, I have known fathering (and parenting) and father-adolescent relationship, but I am aware of this pitfall and approach the data set without preconceptions.

3.5 Research instruments

This research applied research tools to comprehend Turkish fathering using a mixed-method approach such as survey, religiosity question and semi-structured interview, which are explained in the following.

3.5.1 Survey

Survey questions are demonstrated under demographic variables, the perceptions of religiosity and parenting styles questionnaires titles below.

3.5.1.1 Demographic variables

Descriptive questions for children and fathers were composed. Children's demographics included their gender, age and education level (grade), whereas fathers' demographics contained their age, education and income. Demographic variables of gender, education and income were asked by optional responses, whereas another variable, age, was written the bottom of a question by participants.

Children's gender was asked with a boy and a girl options. Their grade indicated grade 9, grade 10 and grade 11. This classification is also evaluated in the degrees of the high school regarding grade 1, grade 2 and grade 3.

Fathers' educational levels were asked by a question, which school degree do you obtain? Their educational level was examined with any university degree, high school, secondary school and primary school.

The monthly household income was asked to only fathers. The income was questioned with 'under 1300 Turk Lirasi (TL)', 'between 1301 TL and 1999 TL', 'between 2000 TL and 2999 TL', 'between 3000 TL and 3999 TL' and 'between above 4000 TL'. The minimum income indicated the minimum wage in Turkey when the data were collected.

3.5.1.2 Perceptions of religiosity

The researcher devised a question about perceptions of religiosity in order to indicate participants' reported religiosity. Both fathers and children were asked their perceptions of religiosity by ‘how do you describe your religious affiliation?’ Its answer covered four categories such as 'very much', 'moderate', 'a little' and 'not at all'.

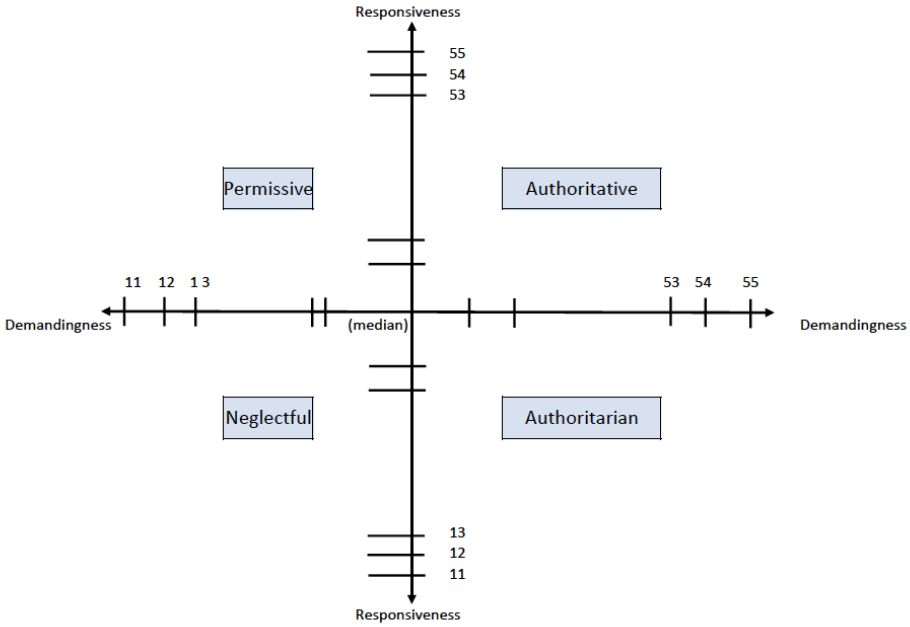
3.5.1.3 Measure of Child-rearing Styles (MCRS)

'The Measure of Child-rearing Styles Inventory' scale was developed by Sumer and Gungor (1999) to evaluate parenting styles based on Baumrind’s parenting styles. Sumer (2000) set the final form of the MCRS in the following year. The scale measures the two primary dimensions of child-rearing behaviour that are “acceptance and involvement” (responsiveness) and “strict control and supervision” (demandingness). Each dimension comprises 11-items and the scale 22-items. The scale is scored on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). By crossing the two dimensions, four parenting styles (Authoritative, Authoritarian, Permissive, and Neglectful) are obtained. The MCRS is originally Turkish and consists of Turkish parenting features. Its standardisation study was completed with 279 university students, who were requested to determine the child-rearing of their fathers and mothers independently. Internal consistency coefficients for perceived parental responsiveness from mothers and fathers were both .94 whereas for perceived demandingness from mothers was .80 and from fathers was .70. This scale can be employed for children, who are more than ten years old.

Baumrind's parenting styles approach assessed parenting by crossing the demandingness and the responsiveness, and its results compose the parenting styles including authoritative, authoritarian, permissive and neglectful. Accordingly, those whose scores are above the median on both

dimensions are labelled as ‘authoritative’; scores which are above the median on the demandingness and below the median on the responsiveness are considered as ‘authoritarian’; those scores which are above the median on the responsiveness and below the median on the demandingness are assigned as ‘permissive’; and finally, scores which are below the median on both dimensions are grouped as ‘neglectful’. The figure 1 shows the indication of parenting styles by the two dimensions. Maximum and minimum scores for each dimension in the MCRS are 55 and 11, respectively.

Figure 1: *The indication of fathering styles by two dimensions*



The original form of the MCRS engaged with children to evaluate both parents’ behaviour, but this study focused on just fathers’ behaviour as parenting. Therefore, the MCRS was adjusted by changing pronouns from my parents (they and their) to my father (he and his). As a result of this, the MCRS-Child questionnaire was composed.

Furthermore, fathers did not evaluate their own parenting in the original form of the MCRS, but this study involved fathers' perspectives to their own fathering with their children. Therefore, the MCRS was paraphrased for fathers' side by replacing pronouns from my father (he and his) to myself (I and me) and from myself (I and me) to my father (he and his). Consequently, the MCRS-Father questionnaire was formed.

In the proposed study, fathers rated their child-rearing behaviour, and adolescents rated the perceived child-rearing behaviour of their fathers. Children and fathers forms included the same statements with different wording, e.g., "We don't have a very close relationship with my child/father" (reverse coded parental responsiveness item) or "I don't easily forgive my child when s/he disobeys my rules; My father doesn't easily forgive me when I disobey his rules" (demandingness).

3.5.2 Semi-structured interview

Interviews can ask examining questions as a means of follow-up (Turner 2010, 756). Thus, asking more questions to purify themes or characters in the interview assisted comprehending individual and social meanings in perceptions of fathering better.

An interviewer can get extra information from the interviewee's voice and body languages so that the interviewer can ask additional questions related to the verbal answer (Opdenakker 2006). Hence, face-to-face interviews provided supplementary knowledge by asking further questions.

During an interview, finding a quiet private location in the home can be doubtful because of child protection matters (Barker & Weller 2003). Scoot (2000) explains the debate that their parents might affect children's answers if the parent is around. This might also be similar for fathers who may be unable to describe their feeling entirely at home as other family members

would be able to hear what they say in the interview. I interviewed fathers and adolescents separately in a place where nobody bothered our interaction or could listen to our conversation.

Tokat provincial municipality provided two different locations for interviews. One location is the heart of the city centre whereas the other is close to the city centre. The different locations offered participants to choose which location is close to their neighbour or easy for transportation from their home to the interview place. Both locations include lounge, where participants wait. Thus, this opportunity helped parents and children when they waited for each other. I also offered some refreshments for participants.

Seidman (2006) indicates that there is not particular time for an interview, but a shorter duration may be suited for younger participants (p. 21). As informed participants, the interviews took around 50 minutes with fathers and around 40 minutes with children. I was aware of participants' conditions in the interview and asked whether or not they would like to continue or take a break or stop it altogether. Nobody wanted to stop or have a break during the interview.

A semi-structured interview covers a set of questions, but a researcher applies for it as a guide rather than following up the questions in a specific order (Smith & Osborn 2004, 233). Thus, I asked the interview questions considering participants' interests and concerns regardless of the order of the questions.

Guthrie (2010) emphasises that there may be some influential circumstances to participants' opinions in the interview (p. 126). Reflecting is essential to support participants to express their feeling and opinions related to research questions, but the reflection has negative effects on participants' feelings. Thus, I was aware of not only my own values and perceptions but also of respecting participants' viewpoints.

While interviewing fathers and adolescents, participants' relationships, experiences and narrations were examined by asking open-ended and non-judgmental questions. My position as an interviewer was to listen to participants and encourage them to reply to questions while I was taking care of their sensitivity.

Before starting the interview, I talked about a brief introduction of what I was doing and confidentiality. Further information was also provided if they required. I also introduced them voice recorder, and how it works.

First questions in the interview were related to demographic questions regarding name, age, job and school, and then the questions were based on fatherhood and fathering. Some interview questions for fathers are below, and the same questions are also adapted for children.

- What kind of a father are you?
- What are your values in child-rearing?
- What is your responsibility in bringing up a child?
- Do you help your child when he has a problem? How?
- What do you do together?
- Do you get help from others during child-rearing? How?
- Does religion affect your parenting? How?
- Do you want to talk about further topics related to fathering? What?

The pilot-study determine flaws, limitations or other weaknesses so that it helps a researcher during the interview design (Kvale 2008). Therefore, I did 3 pilot interviews with a father, a son and a daughter in order to make necessary amendments in research questions. Participants' opinions about the questions and the interview process were also asked for any recommendations. Their feedback was about the question order, and they requested to be asked questions related to religion through the end of the

interview. After the review, the final semi-structured interview questions above were composed.

3.6 Recruitment and participants

High school children's ages in Turkey are between 14 and 19 years old. The final year in a high school is a critical stage for children as they take national exams, and these indicate their enrolment to a university and a subject. This research did not include students who are in the final year as those need to prepare themselves the exams. Thus, this research engaged with adolescent children are between 14 and 18 years old.

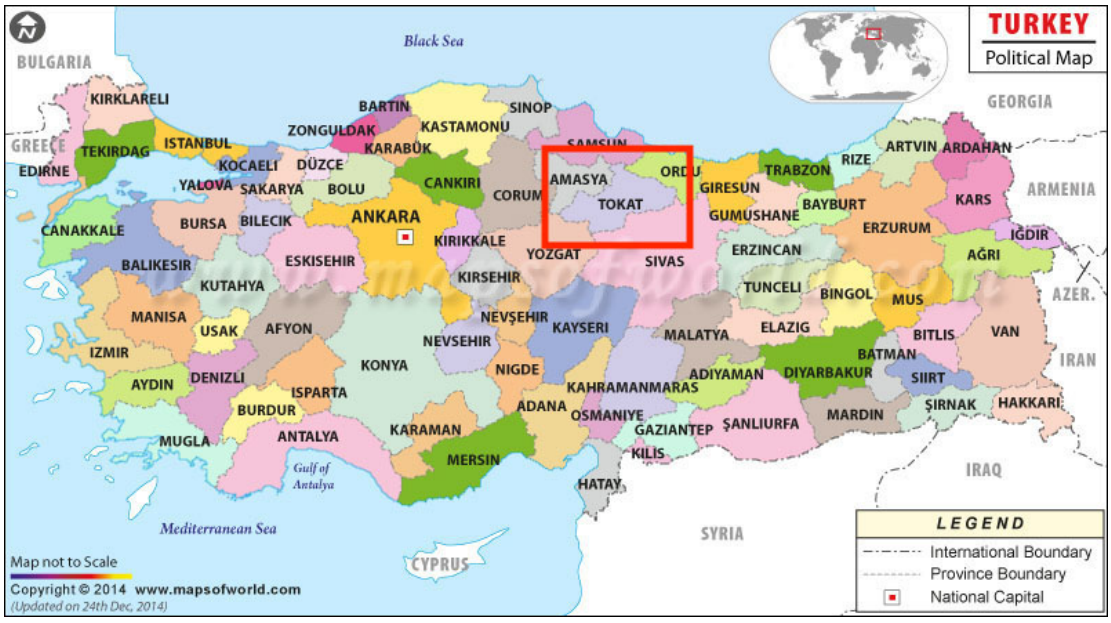
Turkish culture contains a mix of the traditional and modern, secular and religious, and patriarchal and egalitarian, given Turkey's location is placed between Europe and Asia (Tecik 2012, Kagitcibasi 2005; Sen *et al*. 2014). This has an impact on Turkish people's attitudes to, and positions in, relationships with others.

Parents and children usually have shared similarities in their religious beliefs and religious behaviour. Kilavuz (2002) reported that religion was more likely to be adopted more by adolescents when perceiving someone as a religious role model. Hence, adolescents perceive that their family has a significant impact on their religiosity (Sahin 2007).

I chose to conduct the research in Tokat as I grew up in Tokat and I know its culture, people and locations. This helped me to conduct research better. Participants live in Tokat, which is an average city in Turkey and represents common Turkish culture and religion features. According to Turkish Statistic Institute, TurkStat, (2014), 16.76% of the total population in Turkey consisted of 10-19 year old children, whereas 17.17% of the total population in Tokat city contain 10-19 year old children. Furthermore, 63.91% of the total population more than 15 years old in Turkey were married, and 3.25% of

total population in Turkey were divorced; whereas 66.30% of the total population more than 15 years old in Tokat were married, and 1.92% of total population were divorced. In addition, the labour force participation percentage for those who more than 15 years old in Turkey were 50.8, whereas those living in Tokat were 50.7. It can be said that the city of Tokat provides an excellent sample to represent adolescent age groups, family types and the labour force participation rate in Turkey. Figure 2 shows the location of Tokat on the political map of Turkey. There are 125 high schools in Tokat, and there were 12,600 students at these high schools when the research was conducted.

Figure 2: Turkish map



I first took permission from the Turkish Ministry of Education to verbally explain the project to high school students in Tokat. I randomly chose 8 schools in the city centre and a borough. In each school, I randomly chose 3 or 4 class for each grade.

I introduced the research to 2542 students from grade 9, 10 and 11 in 8 high schools in April-May 2016 and 'a survey set' was then given to those students. The survey set included three semi-sealed envelopes. One semi-

sealed envelope comprised a survey for only children whereas another envelope contained a survey for only father. The final envelope was larger than the others and included information about the research regarding aims and confidentiality. Participants could seal down the envelope after completing the survey and then put it into the bigger envelope. This process offered a confidential opportunity for fathers and children to avoid seeing their respective answers. They were given one week to return the survey to the school administration. Fathers filled out the survey about their child, who also completed the survey, even if they have more than one child. Consequently, fathers and children evaluated the same fathering behaviour as a father-child pair.

593 envelopes returned. Each envelope set was signed with a unique number in order to match the survey of father-child pairs. 13 envelopes did not include the fathers' survey so that 580 surveys left to analyse for this study. This recruitment process was designed to reach fathers and adolescents who were from different social backgrounds.

The frequencies of fathers, who were younger than 40 years, were 119; fathers whose ages between 41 and 45 were 217; fathers whose ages between 46 and 50 were 147; and fathers who were older than 50 were 104. The frequencies of fathers' educational level indicated '148 fathers for university', '151 fathers for high school', '118 fathers for secondary school' and '116 fathers for primary school'.

Fathers' employment statuses were not asked in the questionnaire, but their monthly household income was examined. The minimum income of the fathers' group is indicated the minimum wage (in Turkish Lira) in Turkey as a key benchmark. Frequencies of 'under 1300 TL' were 153; frequencies of 'between 1301TL and 1999TL were 131; frequencies of 'between 2000TL and 2999TL' were 155; frequencies of 'between 3000TL and 3999TL' were 69; and frequencies of 'over 4000TL' were 72.

335 children indicated their gender as girls while 245 children were boys. Their age range was between 14 and 18 years old. Frequencies of ‘age 14’ were 18; frequencies of ‘age 15’ were 152; frequencies of ‘age 16’ were 218; frequencies of ‘age 17’ were 176; and frequencies of ‘age 18’ were 16.

The bottom of each survey also included a question about the next step of this research, interview: 'would you like to be a participant for another phase of this research, an interview? You will get 20 Turk Lira as a voucher when you and your father/child participate in the interview. If so, please, write how to contact you below'.

Vouchers can be helpful for increasing participants and, as a result, it decreases sampling bias (Guyll *et al*. 2003, 25). Thus, I offered vouchers to participants to motivate them to participate in this study and also compensate for their time and effort. Cree *et al*. (2002) suggest that stationary materials are a better sign of the researcher's gratitude rather than offering monetary incentives. Hence, the vouchers in this study were only valid for buying stationery material or books in an office supply store. Vouchers may cause adverse social results such as an idea of cheapness (Ashworth *et al*. 2005, p. 295). Thus, I individually asked a few fathers and adolescents about the expected value of the voucher. After the feedback, the voucher covered 20 Turk Lira for purchasing stationery items in the store. Furthermore, the transportation costs of the participants were reimbursed.

55 fathers and 27 children declared that they wanted to take part in the interviews by writing their contact details the bottom of the survey. I contacted all of them, but some of them changed their mind about being a participant, and some were not available due to the summer holiday or work. Finally, 18 fathers and 14 children (8 boys and 6 girls) were interviewed, and all children's fathers also took part in the interview. Notably, 14 father-child pairs and 4 fathers participated in the interview.

Fathers' age range was between 39 and 53 years old. Their income or employment status was not asked in the interview. Children's age range was between 15 and 18 years old. 6 children were from grade 9, 5 children were from grade 10, and 3 children were from grade 11.

Creswell (2013) claims that 20-30 interviews may be enough to cover a research investigation, and Hennink *et al* (2016) also indicate these achievement with 16-24 interviews. However, other studies suggest this saturation with 6-12 interviews (Guest *et al.* 2006, Ando *et al*. 2014). The present study contained 32 interviews thus providing sufficient data data to address the research of exploring Turkish fathering.

Overall, this study recruited 580 father-child pairs for quantitative data as a survey and 18 fathers and 14 adolescents for qualitative data as an interview.

3.7 Ethics

Ethical issues always raise while engaging with participants in research in relation to how to behave them (Williams *et al*. 2010, 42). As this study was conducted with fathers and adolescents, there were some considerable ethical processes such as consent, privacy, anonymity, confidentiality and risks.

Burns (2000) emphasises that participants must understand the nature and direction of the research and must consent to take part in the research without enforcement (p. 18). However, Gallagher (2009) alerts that children may not recognise participation in the study as optional when teachers, parents and other experts have a forcible relationship with the children (p. 16). Adults are also affected in taking part in research by family, colleagues and other people (Miller *et al*. 2012, 55). Therefore, there was a need to be

sure that particapants attended the research with their own consent. For questionnaires, I personally explained children the research in their class and asked them to fill out it as a voluntary. Each questionnaire set in each envelope also covered a consent form. For a possible case, if their fathers wanted to participate, but children did not want; they could leave blank their questionnaire and then they could put it into their individual envelope, which offered a confidential opportunity. In a similar potential case for fathers, they did not want to participate, but their children wanted; they also had the same confidentiality. Thus, this process reflects that participants filled out with their own consent (and their parent consent). For interviews, I individually met fathers and adolescents and investigated their decision to be a participant in the research before getting a consent form from them. Hence, this method also made me sure that participants joined the research without coercion.

The interviews were recorded by a digital voice recorder, and nobody listened to or transcribed the records except for me. Smith and Osborn (2004) underline that any identifying data (names, job or degree) about the respondent must be excluded or altered, so it is suitable to produce a fictional identifying name for the interviewee (p. 245). During transcribing, I protected confidentiality by not providing any specific details related to describing the participants. I did not reveal the name of schools where adolescents are educated, or what courses they study. I also asked whether or not the participants want to censor some information in the transcription after the interviews, nobody requested any change. Thus, I attempted to do everything I could to protect the participants' privacy. Furthermore, the interview data were kept on my individual computer in an encrypted form in order to keep it safe.

There was a question in the interview and the questionnaire that 'would you like to receive the result of this study? If so, please, write below how I can deliver you it (email address or social media).' When I complete the PhD, I

will send the result of this research to those participants who requested the results.

Participants' names were coded that known only by myself. Data has also been stored on a password-protected computer known only by me, and nobody can access to view the data. I retain the data 5 years more after completing the PhD, and the data will be disposed of securely.

Quasi-therapeutic relationships between researcher and participants may be seen in qualitative in-depth interviews, but the researcher may not be qualified how to deal with feelings and expectations of participants (Willig 2013, 99). Due to my professional job as a counselor, I had many interviews and therapeutic counselling with parents and children. Thus, I am aware of the differences between being a researcher and counsellor. This can help me keep my position in the research as a researcher rather than a counsellor. I, as a researcher, was there to learn, not to treat the participant (Seidman 2006).

3.8 Data Analysis

As this research employed a mixed method approach, the processes of analysis of qualitative and quantitative data are separately presented below.

3.8.1 Analysing the survey

This study applied for 'version 24 of the SPSS' to conduct statistic analysis for the surveys of fathers and children. The surveys were first analysed to check whether or not there was any missing values in the data. Tabachnick and Fidell (2013) advise that the missing data will be random if there is not case with more than 5% missing values. The results of missing value analysis confirmed that the missing value were random and then the missing data were replaced with the mean of the given variables.

The shape of the distributions of the score was also analysed in order to decide whether parametric statistics were appropriate for the data. The normal or bell-shaped ideal is checked in a variety of methods including histogram, the test of Kolmogorov-Smirnov, the test of Shapiro-Wilk and the normal curves of Skewness and Kurtosis. Howitt and Cramer (2011: 39) report that researcher could disregard deviations from the normal distribution as the dataset have more than 30 scores or participants, but the skewness index ought to be considered. This study could be considered as the normal distribution due to having large participants, but the kurtosis and skewness rates for each variable were also computed to check the ideal distribution.

After the preliminary analysis, factor analysis was done using ‘principal component’ with ‘direct oblimin’ for the MCRS of fathers and children separately. Several inter-correlated quantitative dependent variables describe the pattern of similarities of the observations and the variables through the principal component analysis (Abdi & Williams 2010).

The direct oblimin also allow factors to correlate with each other (Kremelberg 2011). Therefore, the factor analysis was employed to finalise numbers of the MCRS' dimensions and items in each dimension.

The MCRS of fathers and children were separately conducted through principal component analysis in order to classify items for each questionnaire. Furthermore, the KMO (Kaiser-Mayer-Olkin) value, the Bartlett test of sphericity, factor loading and the eigenvalues were examined.

The KMO value indicates the proportion of variance in data. The factor analysis is suitable for the data if its value is close to 1.0, but it will not be appropriate if the value is less than .50. Thus, the MCRS-Father and the MCRS-Child were examined with the KMO value.

Barlett test of sphericity indicated the values of correlation and identity matrix, and its result determines a significant level for the factor analysis if its value is less than .005. The MCRS-Father and the MCRS-Child were tested with Barlett test of sphericity.

Factor loading shows correlations between factors and the original variables. Each factor is considered as salient if the factor loading value is greater than or equal to .30 (Brown 2009). Thus, the MCRS-Father and the MCRS-Child were examined with the factor loading value, and an item was removed from the questionnaire if its factor loading value was less than .30.

Furthermore, employing the same questions for both father and child questionnaires was an initial setting for the analysis method. Thus, the factor loading values of the MCRS-Father and the MCRS-Child were analysed together, and an item was omitted from both questionnaires if the value is less than .30 in one of them.

Reliability index is generally examined by Cronbach's coefficient alpha (Hogan *et al*. 2000; Peterson 1994). Its value more than .70 is considered as satisfactory (Bland & Altman 1997; Nunnally & Bernstein 1994). Thus, the reliability of the MCRS-Father and the MCRS-Child were examined.

A paired *t-test* was conducted to compare numeric data in the father-child pairs, and an independent-sample *t*-test was run to analyse a numeric variable between independent two groups. Pearson correlation test was also run to examine the relation between two numeric variables.

Chi-square and Fisher exact tests were conducted to analyse the relation between two categorical variables with a cross-tabulation, which illustrates intersections of variables categories with percentage or number or cases in a contingency table (Neuman 2014). Chi-square is applied for a cross-tabulation when the frequency of each cell is more than 5 (Howitt & Cramer

2011). Therefore, the Fisher test was employed when each cell's frequency is less than 5. Moreover, the adjusted residual value was checked in each cell to indicate significant contributions. There is a significant correlation as its value is bigger than 2 or less than -2.

A one-way between subjects ANOVA was computed to analyse the relation between a variable, which has more than two categories, and a numeric variable. A Post Hoc LSD test was also conducted to compare groups differed from each other if the ANOVA result indicates a significant relation.

3.8.2 Analysing the interview

The participants' interviews were analysed using an inductive qualitative method, which aims to capture the emerging themes and meaning in the participants' communication working with the raw data (Charmaz 2006). Thematic analysis identifies and analyses patterns of meaning in a data set (Braun & Clarke 2006) as well as setting valid models of participants' thinking, feeling and behaviour (Joffe 2012). Thus, thematic analysis was applied for analysing the interviews to explore fathering and fatherhood from perspectives of fathers and adolescents.

TA examines the data set to indicate important examples (Daly *et al*. 1997). Thus, the raw data of participants' interviews were analysed to find significant patterns and then cluster them under the main themes. In this process, an inductive approach was employed to explore fathering demonstrating dominant and substantial themes from the raw data of the interviews.

*B*efore starting to code and compose themes, the whole data set was read to see the entire fathering picture in the raw data, which included participants' answers for the semi-structured interview questions about ‘what do you think about fathering?’ and ‘how do you do parenting’. It was clear from the data

set that they mainly described their fathering behaviour as having three dimensions:

- What are they doing?
- How do they do it?
- Why do they say they do it?

The transcriptions were again read to generate an initial list of possible themes related to fathering with these three questions. I applied the NVIVO, which provides facilities to code patterns by making links to each other with various titles. Thus, it assisted to categorise each different frame of the interviews regarding meaning, experience and opinion about fathering.

Familiar patterns were classified under a specific title on the NVIVO, and each familiar pattern was examined their relations to each other. Some patterns covered others whereas some had a unique position. After this familiarisation process, initial themes were formed with more detailed descriptions related to similarities and differences from each other to reach more general conceptual classification.

After initial themes, there was an investigation of whether each theme's classifications link to form overarching themes and then examined whether there were any sub-themes. This process gave a systematic approach to the analysis, but the investigation was not a linear process that moves from one phrase to the next one. Therefore, the whole collated selections for each theme were examined again to review whether the sub-themes made harmonious main themes until saturation. The themes were then presented a narration with selective vivid samples from participants' expressions. Detailed information is represented in chapter 4.

3.9 Translation

The interviews were conducted in the Turkish language so that the important parts in the transcription are translated from Turkish to English. Translation is a particular kind of understanding so that there is not absolute truth about the interpretation (Kvale 1996). Temple and Young (2004) also support this view that the different versions of translation do not indicate 'wrong'. Thus, the aim and epistemological orientation of the research determine the validity of the translation (Wong & Poon 2010, 154). Moreover, culture is also related to difficulty in translation due to matching the meaning of the interpretation (Chen & Boore 2009, 235). Therefore, the study considered language structure and cultural nuances during translation.

The translated text is affected by the omission of a word or phrase and, as a result, translation may not represent the participants' reality (Wong and Poon 2010). Thus, Chen and Boore (2009) suggest that possible errors are eliminated when two people translate the same data. A Turkish friend, who has studied in the UK, compared original and translated transcripts in order to minimise translation errors such as meaning and vocabulary.

3.10 Reliability and validity

The quantitative approach includes generating measures of behaviour, beliefs, or opinions through structured questionnaires. Mainly, numeric values are constructed from participants' answers to the questionnaire. However, numeric determinations are needed to investigate their reliability, which produces the same scores over various times, groups of participants, or versions of the research tools. (Vanderstoep & Johnston 2009).

The most common method to examine the reliability of self-report responses is Cronbach's Alpha, which measures degrees of the items in the tool. Its maximum value is 1.0, and it shows a stronger relationship between the

examined items if its value is closer to the maximum. (Vanderstoep & Johnston 2009, 63). Thus, the reliability of each questionnaire was checked by using Cronbach Alpha values via the SPSS programme.

Validity is an essential concern in research and indicates 'correctness or credibility of a description, conclusion, explanation, interpretation, or other sorts of account' (Maxwell, 2013, 122). Thus, it offers to monitor the quality of the data, outcomes, and interpretation (Creswell & Plano Clark 2011).

The main benefit of the self-report approach is to collect data sufficiently, but there is a doubt that participants may tend to overestimate the descriptions of their behaviour and attitudes. Myers (1996) reported that participants perceive themselves as more talented, moral and reliable and friendlier than their peers. Thus, it might be confronted with the potential self-serving bias, which yield incorrect answers (Vanderstoep & Johnston 2009).

A multi-perspective method is recommended to reduce the lack of self-report by involving more than one person in terms of their individual experience with the same frame as this method underlines variations in personal perspectives (Pope & Mays 2009; Kendall *et al*. 2009). Applying fathers' and children's perceptions of fathering styles together could reveal inconsistencies and gaps in their perspectives. This method could give more opportunities to comprehend Turkish fathering styles better.

Validity in qualitative research is unlikely in quantitative research as it is seldom checked in qualitative research. This difference is explained by reactivity, which indicates the influence of participants and researchers. For instance, it is possible to control the impact of researchers in the quantitative methods, but the process of the qualitative method does not cover full control (Maxwell 2013, 124). To strengthen the reliability of the conclusion, I employ triangulation, which is based on the process of collecting and transforming various data on the same aspect (Creswell & Plano Clark 2011; Creswell

2013). Thus, employing questionnaires and interviews together helped to minimise the validity threats.

The ideological setting standard of the researcher raises an epistemological position in terms of how truth can be understood (Blaikie 2000). My epistemological position is that knowledge is subjective rather than objective and, as a result, individuals interpretation influence on the knowledge (Bryman 2004). Thus, my values and perceptions impact what I learn from the data and how I decipher them (Punch 2013). Rennie (2000) claims that another set of examination on the same data may determine alternative conclusions. Thus, after analysing data in this research, I must consider whether if someone else analysed the data, would there be the same outcomes? I discussed the framework of the research determinations with my colleagues as well as my supervisors in order to obtain greater objectivity.

Thematic analysis is adjustable, but this elasticity can drive a shortage of consistency when themes emerged from raw data (Holloway & Todres 2003). Thus, cross-checking themes were undertaken to strengthen consistency and cohesion until ensuring saturation.

3.11 Reflexivity

Reflexivity is necessary for qualitative research as it brings the researcher and his/her values etc into the equation, that is, it provides context and insight as to what may shape any conclusions that are arrived at (Willig 2013, 95). It is also related to researchers' responses and views as regards the topic of the study (Holloway and Biley 2011, 971). Engward and Davis (2015) emphasise that reflexivity differs from reflection in that the latter is based on looking back to obtain insight while the former is a means of self-awareness and investigation that is bidirectional. Using reflexivity, researchers build in an awareness of who they are (their values, class position, age, sex etc) and

the choices they make in the study (ibid). Furthermore, relationships between inter-subjective dynamics of the research process and the researcher's subjective conclusions come to light by reflexivity (Probst 2015).

Researchers, like participants, have their preconceived opinions, which may be affected by their experiences and culture so that they are not 'tabula rasa', lacking opinions (Holloway & Biley 2011, 971). I have had a good relationship with my father, and we can talk about any topic such as politics, sex, economy, religion, family, dating etc. However, as an adolescent, our relationship was poor with only basic communication such as provision of pocket money and restrictions. My experience with him and my knowledge about the relationship between fathers and adolescents might have an impact on my research questions, and inferences drawn from the data, but I sought to avoid becoming overly self-absorbed in order to comprehend contemporary relationships between fathers and adolescents.

Additionally, Berger (2015) stresses that similar experiences with participants might be better to comprehend participants' perceptions and interpretations as familiarity provides a common stand point, but the researcher is required to be calm to avoid the intrusion of the effect of their own experiences. As everyone has their own experience with their fathers, my experience with my father helped me to understand participants' explanations about father-child relationships, however I did not side with their arguments and justifications (e.g. as to the use of psychological punishment) and strove to keep my position as objective as possible; in other words, my position was 'outsider' rather than 'insider'.

Research design and methodology were discussed in this chapter. As a next step, quantitative and qualitative data are analysed, and their results are discussed in the following chapters.

Findings

Chapter 4 The questionnaire results; Fathering from the perspectives of fathers and adolescent children

As indicated, the most well-known parenting framework is Baumrind's parenting frames. The main ingredients of the Baumrind's parenting styles are the demanding and responsive dimensions, and the combinations of these dimensions comprise the Baumrind's parenting styles. This chapter addresses the research question, '**what do Turkish fathers do when they parent their adolescents?'** considering the Baumrind's parenting frames from the perspectives of fathers and adolescent children.

In this chapter, demographic variables are described, and the perceptions of religiosity from the view of fathers and adolescents are revealed. The 'fathering' style is assessed by the 'measure of child-rearing styles inventory' (MCRS) (Sumer & Gungor 1999) from the perspectives of fathers and adolescent children. Fathering variables from the perspectives of fathers and children are also examined their relations with demographic variables and the perceived religiosity.

4.1 Research rationale and aim

Parenting has been examined from many perspectives, however, a dominant and influential tendency in the literature has been to examine parenting **in action**, especially parenting styles. Since the 1950s, a number of investigators have found connections between parenting style and various child behaviours. The most well-known framework for describing child-rearing traits was developed by Diana Baumrind (1968, 1971, 1973, 1991b), who differentiated parenting styles related to the dimensions of demandingness

and responsiveness. The variety of combinations of demanding and responsive generate four styles of parenting.

In this chapter, this research investigates Turkish fathers using Baumrind's approach, calculating the demanding and responsive scores and then assessing the parenting styles, according to the four style typology, authoritative, authoritarian, permissive and neglectful.

Demanding and responsive dimensions reflect a continuum from 'strict control and supervision' to 'acceptance and involvement', respectively. Each dimension was vitally important to examine firstly from the perspectives of fathers and adolescents separately, and secondly together in order to comprehend 'fathering', fatherhood and the contemporary parenting styles in Turkey according to the dimensions of demandingness and responsiveness.

'Fathering' is a two-way street between fathers and children, a relational consequence. Their demographic variables also impact on 'fathering'. Therefore, it was essential to examine relations between fathers' behaviours and demographic variables, regarding, the age of fathers and children, fathers' educational level, children's grade, and family income. The results were able to reveal the diverse perspective of 'fathering', in order to find out the meaning of 'fathering' in Turkey, enabling deep insight into the perspectives of fathers and adolescents.

Reports of fathers and adolescents were examined separately to outline the understanding of 'fathering' for each perspective. Thus, this study is also designed to demonstrate, 'what do fathers and adolescents **perceive of fathering** from the fathers' behaviour?'.

The reports were also analysed together to highlight the differences between the perspectives of fathers and adolescents in order to compare the father-child pairs' perceptions of fathering, and also answer a research question, 'is

there a difference between fathers' perceptions and adolescents' perceptions of fathering'.

Fathering results were examined with demographic variables to explore relations between 'fathering' and demographic variables. Fathering from perspectives of fathers was analysed using fathers' age and educational level and family income. Fathering from adolescents' perspectives was also analysed using adolescents' gender, age and grade and family income, and so consider degrees of 'is there a relation between fathering and demographic variables?'.

Fathering results were also examined in related to perceptions of **religiosity.** Fathering from fathers' perspectives was analysed with degrees of fathers' perceptions of religiosity. Fathering from perspectives of adolescents was analysed with adolescents' perceptions of their religiosity degree. Therefore, this research aimed identifying ' there is a difference between fathering and the perceptions of religiosity degree'.

4.2 Method

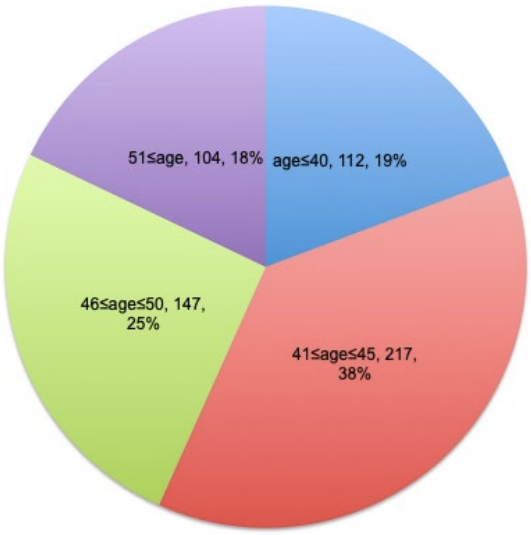
Father-questionnaire and child-questionnaire were enclosed in different envelopes, and both envelopes were enclosed in a bigger envelope. After filling out the questionnaire, the respondent was asked to seal the envelope to keep each participant's responses confidential. High school students in Turkey were introduced this research at schools and asked to participate in this research with their fathers. In the recruiting process, 580 high students filled out the child-research-package, including, demographic variables, perception of religiosity and the 'measure of child-rearing styles inventory' (MCRS) for children, and their fathers also answered the father-research-package, including, demographic variables, perception of religiosity and the MCRS for fathers. In other words, 580 father-adolescent pairs were recruited for this research. Demographic variables for fathers and adolescents, perception of religiosity and the MCRS are demonstrated in the following.

4.2.1 Demographic variables

Fathers' age, educational level and family income were asked in the father's survey whereas children' gender, age and grade at school were asked in the child's survey. These demographic variables are now described.

The frequencies of the youngest (age≤40) and the oldest (51≤age) father-groups were almost similar and the lowest among 580 fathers. Fathers' population was the highest in '41≤age≤45' with 217 fathers. The second higher frequency was in '46≤age≤50' with 147 fathers. The figure 2 shows fathers' age groups with their corresponding frequencies.

Figure 2: *Fathers' age groups*



Fathers' educational level was examined according to completion of university degree, high school, secondary school and primary school. University degree and high school were the highest frequencies in educational level, whereas primary school and secondary school were the lowest frequencies. Figure 3 demonstrates fathers' educational levels.

Figure 3: *Fathers' educational level*

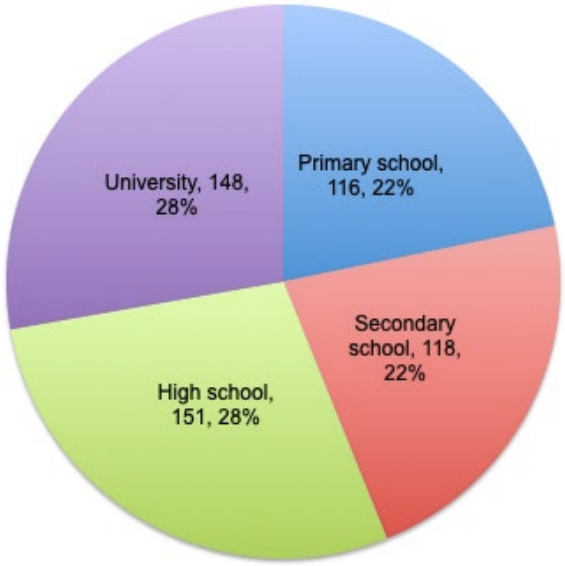
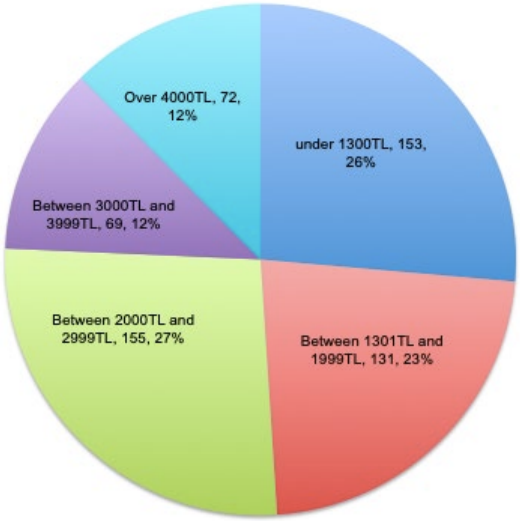


Figure 4: *family income, which was described by fathers*



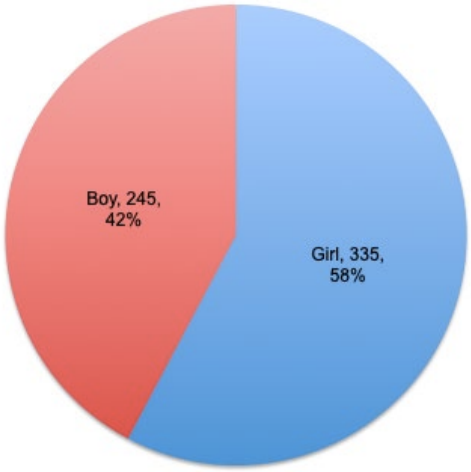
Fathers were asked about monthly household income. The minimum income of the fathers' group is indicated the minimum wage (in Turkish Lira) in Turkey as a key benchmark. Frequencies of 'under 1300TL', 'between 1301TL and 1999TL' and 'between 2000TL and 2999TL' were very close to each other, and the frequency was more visible in these groups. Furthermore, frequencies of the classifications 'between 3000TL and 3999TL' and 'over 4000TL' were almost similar and of an almost equivalent

proportion when combined to the single classification the lowest among the income groups. Figure 4 displays the monthly household income as described by fathers.

The second group of participants, 580 adolescents, and their demographic information is providing in the following.

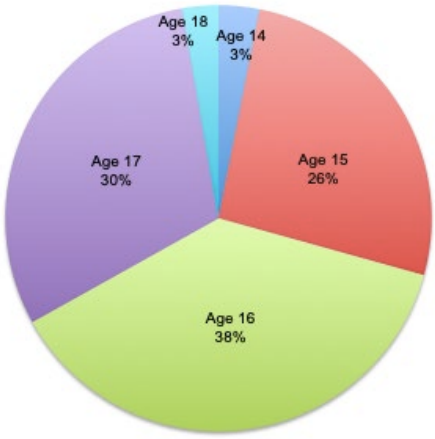
Adolescent children reported that their age range was between 14 and 18 years old. 335 children indicated their gender as girls while 245 children were boys. Figure 5 displays children's gender. As can be seen in the figure, the population of girls is more than boys. Furthermore, this research collected data from the father-child pair so that adolescents' gender also indicated whether fathers had a son, or a daughter. Consequently, 335 fathers had a daughter whereas 245 fathers had a son.

Figure 5: *adolescent children's gender*



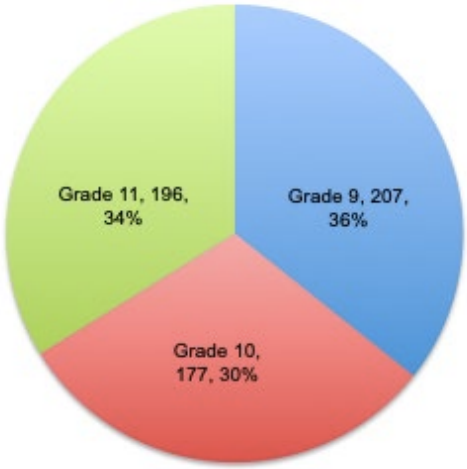
Adolescent children reported that their age between 14 and 18 years old. The youngest and the oldest children's the frequency less than 20, and the age of 16 had the highest frequency. Figure 6 shows children's ages.

Figure 6: *adolescent children's age*



Adolescent children were asked their grade in school. The lowest frequency was in 'grade 10' with 30%, and also the highest frequency was in 'grade 9' with 36%. Figure 7 show children's grade.

Figure 7: *adolescent children's grade*



I will return to the variables in related to statistical approach used for analysing the data. In the following part, the measures from the child-rearing styles inventory (MCRS) and its outcomes are described.

4.2.2 Research Instruments

The research employed the Measure of Child-Rearing Styles Inventory (MCRS) developed by Sumer and Gungor (1999) and perceptions of religiosity formed by the researcher. Detailed information is provided below.

4.2.2.1 The Measure of Child-Rearing Styles Inventory (MCRS)

The MCRS was developed to measure the perceived parenting styles by Sumer and Gungor (1999) and in the following year; Sumer (2000) set the final form of the MCRS with a 22-item 5-point Likert type (from ‘strongly disagree’ to ‘strongly agree’) self-report for child-rearing styles of mothers and fathers separately on the same items from children's perspectives.

The original form of the MCRS engaged with children to evaluate their own parents’ behaviour, but this study focused on just fathers’ behaviour as parenting. Therefore, the MCRS was adjusted by changing pronouns from my parents (they and their) to my father (he and his). As a result of this, the MCRS-Child questionnaire was subsequently developed.

Furthermore, fathers did not evaluate their own parenting in the original form of the MCRS, but this study involved fathers’ perspectives of their own fathering with their children. Therefore, the MCRS was adapted by replacing pronouns from my father (he and his) to myself (I and me) and from myself (I and me) to my father (he and his). Consequently, the MCRS-Father questionnaire was formed.

4.2.2.2 Religiosity

I created a question about perceptions of religiosity in order to capture how participants' reported their religious beliefs and practices Participants were asked about their perceptions of religiosity by having an additional questions,

‘how do you describe your religious affiliation?’. The answer covers four categories such as 'very much', 'moderate', 'a little' and 'not at all'.

4.3 Analysis

The MCRS were analysed for missing values, normal distribution, a factor structure and reliability. The factor structure provided an opportunity to clarify the numbers in the MCRS’s dimensions and items in each dimension. Its results supported the original dimensions of the MCRS regarding demanding and responsive.

After scores of the demandingness and responsiveness dimensions were calculated, statistical analysis was conducted for the father-adolescent pairs along these dimensions.

Crossing demandingness and responsiveness assessed fathering styles as being authoritative, authoritarian, permissive or neglectful. Fathering styles from the perspectives of fathers and adolescents were analysed separately and together. Finally, all the ‘fathering’ results were statistically analysed with demographic variables to examine the relations between them.

4.3.1 Preliminary Analysis

A missing Value Analysis was conducted to find the patterns of missing data. The analysis revealed that although there were not cases with more than 5% missing values, the missing data was completely as random (Tabachnick and Fidell, 2013) (Little’s MCAR test $\chi 2$ (41640) = 47, p= .694). In order to prevent subject loss, a case with missing data of less than 5% was replaced with the mean of the given variable. After the end of this process, 580 father-child-pair questionnaires remained

Table 2: *Skewness and kurtosis values of the MCRS-Father and the MCRS-Child*

	MCRS-Father		MCRS-Child	
	Skewness	Kurtosis	Skewness	Kurtosis
Q-1	-.603	.460	-.429	-.296
Q-2	-.663	.198	-.314	-.603
Q-3	-.781	.652	-.976	.655
Q-4	.395	-.723	.642	-.739
Q-5	-.731	1.064	-.554	-.188
Q-6	.374	-.538	.622	-.646
Q-7	-.916	1.164	-.861	.381
Q-8	.709	-.370	.707	-.725
Q-9	-.706	-.542	-1.362	.867
Q-10	.228	-.338	.631	-.299
Q-11	1.139	.513	1.004	-.081
Q-12	.055	-.506	.250	-.621
Q-13	.201	-.800	-.046	-.986
Q-14	-.408	-.519	-.054	-.873
Q-15	-.922	.454	-.847	.006
Q-16	-1.339	.985	-.898	-.221
Q-17	-.243	-.509	-.131	-.703
Q-18	.162	-.784	.359	-.845
Q-19	-.678	.400	-.322	-.478
Q-10	-.833	.196	-.429	-.416
Q-21	1.235	.698	-.314	1.045
Q-22	.070	-.955	-.976	-.607

The primary consideration in statistical analysis is the shape of the distributions of the score as this indicates whether parametric statistics are valid. The normal or bell-shaped ideal is checked using in a variety of methods including histogram, the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test, Shapiro-Wilk test and the normal curves of Skewness and Kurtosis. Howitt and Cramer (2011) underline that researchers could disregard deviations from the normal distribution when the dataset has more than 30 scores or participants, but the skewness index ought to also be considered (p. 39). This study could be considered as having a normal distribution due to the large numbers of participants, but the skewness and kurtosis values for each variable are computed to check the ideal distribution. Table 2 illustrates each research questions' skewness and kurtosis indexes for both MCRS-Father and MCRS-Child questionnaires.

Skewness and Kurtosis indexes between 1.5 and -1.5 in a questionnaire show normal distribution (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013; Howitt & Cramer, 2011). As can be seen in the table 2, skewness and kurtosis indexes for all items in the questionnaires were between 1.5 and -1.5, so this shows the items on the questionnaire have a normal distribution. This result indicates that parametric statistic formulas were able to be computed for the data in this research.

4.3.2 The factor Structure of the MCRS

Factor analysis was done using a 'principal component' with 'direct oblimin' for father's and child's questionnaires separately. The principal component analysis is a data analysis technique that uses several inter-correlated quantitative dependent variables to display the pattern of similarities of the observations and variables as points in a data analysis table (Abdi & Williams 2010). The direct oblimin is a method of oblique rotation that enables factors to correlate with each other (Kremelberg 2011). Therefore, this approach provided an opportunity to assess the numbers of the MCRS's dimensions and items in each dimension.

A factor structure was applied to the MCRS-Father and the MCRS-Child, and five-components were displayed, but the factor loading values in the pattern matrix of 3-4 and 5-factors were mostly less than .30. Furthermore, their eigenvalues variance dropped sharply after 2-factors. Therefore, the pattern matrix indicated that 2-factors were more appropriate for analysis. This result was also in concordance with the original study of Sumer and Gungor (1999), which employed 2-factors in the MCRS.

Father's and child's questionnaires were separately conducted through a principal component analysis in order to classify items for each questionnaire. Furthermore, The KMO (Kaiser-Mayer-Olkin) value, the

Bartlett test of sphericity, factor loading and the eigenvalues were also examined.

4.3.2.1 Principal Factor Analysis of the MCRS-Father

The result of principal factor analysis of the MCRS-Father used five factors. However, father's questionnaires were examined for 2-factors due to the factor loading values and the eigenvalues variance. This result indicated that this study was able to follow the original study's structure as the original study employed 2-factors, that is, the demanding and responsive dimensions.

The KMO value indicates the proportion of variance in the data. When the value is close to 1.0, it generally shows that the factor analysis is useful for the data, but when its value is less than .50, the result of the factor analysis will not be useful. The KMO value was .847 in the MCRS-Father and thereore the factor analysis was useful for this research data, as its value was close to 1.0.

The Barlett test of sphericity tests correlation between the identity matrix, when its value less than .005, this indicates significance for the factor analysis the data. In the MCRS-Father, the Barlett test sphericity was less than .005, its value was therefore significant.

This finding supported commonalities in two components, explaining 21% of the variance for first factor, 14.2% of the variance for the second factor and 35.2% of the variance for two factors together. However, other components' variance was around or less than 5% when more than two components were concerned. Furthermore, the factor loading values in the pattern matrix of 3-4 and 5-factors were mostly less than .30. Therefore, two components were appropriate for the MCRS-Father.

Factor loading demonstrates correlations between factors and the original variables. Table 3 shows factor loadings with values for two factors together. Factor loading values greater than or equal to .30 display that each factor is salient (Brown 2009). According to the factor loadings results of the MCRS-Father, 10 items loaded onto Factor-1 had factor loadings greater than .30. These are shown in the table 3. According to the original study, these questions cover the responsive dimension. Therefore, the first factor dimension was called ‘responsiveness’.

Furthermore, question-2, question-4, question-6, question-8, question-12, question-18, question-20 and question-22 had greater than .30-factor values. These questions were related to the demanding dimension in the original study. Thus, the second factor dimension was identified as ‘demandingness’.

However, question-10, question-14, question-16 and question-17 had less than .30-factor values, so these questions might not reflect the responsive or the demanding dimension. It was better to remove these questions before proceeding both the analysis of parenting from fathers’ perspectives.

4.3.2.2 Principal Component Analysis of the MCRS-Child

The same process of the MCRS-Father was employed for the MCRS-Child during analysis of the questionnaires, completed by adolescent children. The result of principal factor analysis of the MCRS-Child showed three factors. However, the children’s questionnaires were examined for 2-factors, due to the factor loading values and the eigenvalues variance. This result indicated that this study was able to follow the original study’s structure as the original study employed 2-factors, demanding and responsive dimensions.

The KMO value was .899 in the MCRS-Child, so the factor analysis was useful for this research data given its value was close to 1.0. In the MCRS-

Child, the Barlett test sphericity was less than .005 and its value was significant.

This finding supported commonalities between two factors explaining 27.66% of the variance for first factor, 15.89% of the variance for second factor and 43.55% of the variance for two factors together. However, the third component's variance was around 5%. Furthermore, the factor loading values in the pattern matrix of 3-factors were mostly less than .30. Therefore, two components were also significant for the MCRS-Child.

Table 3 shows the pattern matrix of the MCRS-Child with factor values. According to the factor loadings results of MCRS-Child, question-1, question-3, question-5, question-7, question-9, question-11, question-13, question-15, question-19 and question-21 (ten items) had greater than 0.30-factor values. According to the original study, these questions cover the responsive dimension. Therefore, the first factor dimension was called 'responsiveness'.

Furthermore, question-2, question-4, question-6, question-8, question-10, question-12, question-16, question-18, question-20 and question-22 had greater than .30-factor values. These questions address the demanding dimension in the original study. Thus, the second factor dimension was identified as 'demandingness'.

The factor analysis results of the current study in terms of omitting items were in concordance with other studies. Question-14 of factor value in MCRS-Child was around .60 and .59 in Sumer (2000) and Alvan (2015) studies respectively, but its value was less than .30 in the present study. So question-14 was omitted.

Alvan (2015) employed the MCRS-Child in her study and declared that the factor value of question-17 was .46 for the responsive dimension and -.33 for the demanding dimension. However, Sumer (2000) analysed the factor

values of the MCRS-Child and reported that question-17 had almost similar factor values for both dimensions such as -.51 the demanding dimension and .50 for responsive dimension so that he removed question-17. Question-17 of principal component analysis results in the present study also found .38 for the responsive dimension and -.37 for the demanding dimension. So, question-17 was omitted in the current study as its factor values were very close to each other.

4.3.2.3 Classifying questions for each factor by considering both the MCRS-Child and the MCRS-Father Together

This study focused on consistent results by comparing fathering from the perspectives of fathers and children so that employing the same questions for both father and child questionnaires was an initial feature of the analytical method.

As indicated in previous parts, some questions were omitted from the MCRS-Father and the MCRS-Child, but this omitting process did not cover the same questions in the respective questionnaire. Table 3 demonstrates the pattern matrix of the MCRS-Father and MCRS-Child together. Question-10 and question-16 were suitable for analysing the MCRS-Child, but these questions did not meet the analysing criteria for the MCRS-Father. Therefore, the MCRS-Father and the MCRS-Child had different numbers of questions for the analysis process. Question-10 and 16 were re-considered in the analysis process to eliminate differentiation. In other words, this study aimed to have a scale that was similar for both fathers and adolescents so that the problematic items regarding the question-10 and 16 were eliminated from both scales.

Question-16 of factor value in MCRS-Child was .72 and .62 in Sumer (2000) and Alvan (2015) studies respectively, but its factor value in the MCRS-Child in this study was much lower than those studies. Furthermore, question-16 in the MCRS-Child in this study was more than .30 but its factor values in the

MCRS-Father were less than .30. Question-16 was a problematic item when the MCRS-Father and the MCRS-Child were considered together. Thus, question-16 was omitted from both MCRS.

Question-10 of factor values in MCRS-Child was .57 and 56 in Sumer (2000) and Alvan (2015) studies respectively. Its factor value in the MCRS-Child in this study was very close to these studies, but its factor values in the MCRS-Father in this study were less than .30. Question-10 was a problematic item when the MCRS-Father and the MCRS-Child were considered together. Thus, question-10 was omitted from both MCRS.

Factor values of question-10 and question-16 in the MCRS-Child in this study were more than .30 but their factor values in the MCRS-Father were less than .30. Factor loading values of both questions in the MCRS-Child and the MCRS-Father together did not indicate salience due to the criteria of .30 values. Since this study attempts to have the same items in each dimension to reach consistent results for comparing father-child-pair questionnaires, question-10 and question-16 in the MCRS-Child were omitted for the analysis.

Consequently, question-10-14-16 and 17 of both the MCRS-Father and the MCRS-Child were omitted for the analysis as their factor values were less than .30 or their factor values were very close to each other. Question-1-3-5-7-9-11-13-15-19 and 21 (ten items) were counted in the responsive dimension whereas question-2-4-6-8-12-18-20 and 22 (eight items) were counted in the demanding dimension. Table 3 shows ten questions in the responsiveness for both the MCRS-Father and the MCRS-Child. Table 3 also displays eight questions in the demandingness for both the MCRS-Father and the MCRS-Child.

Table 3: *the pattern matrix of the MCRS-Father and MCRS-Child*

Questions (CQ indicates children's question about evaluating their fathers; FQ indicates fathers' question about evaluating themselves)	**Children's Questionnaire (MCRS-Child)**		**Fathers' Questionnaires (MCRS-Father)**	
	Responsiveness	Demandingness	Responsiveness	Demandingness
CQ15: We are very attached to each other. FQ15: We are very attached to each other.	.76		.72	
CQ9: I always count on his love and intimacy. FQ9: He/she always counts on my love and intimacy.	.72		.70	
CQ7: He supports me in solving my problems. FQ7: I support him/her in solving his/her problem	.82		.69	
CQ5: When I have difficulty, he always help me to see it more clearly. FQ5: When he/she has difficulty, I always help him/her to see it more clearly.	.76		.68	
CQ1: He often speaks in a relaxing way with me. FQ1: I often speak in a relaxing way with him/her.	.75		.66	
CQ3: He always gives me useful ideas on how to behave or what to do. FQ3: I always give him/her useful ideas on how to behave or what to do.	.72		.65	
CQ19: When I have a problem, I tell immediately him about it. FQ19: When he/she has a problem, he/she tells immediately me about it.	.69		.64	
CQ11: We never have intimate relationship. FQ11: We never have intimate relationship.	.73		.60	
CQ21: He is never interested in what I feel and think. FQ21: I am never interested in what he/she feels and thinks.	.69		.49	
CQ13: I prefer to keep my problems to myself rather than sharing them with him. FQ13: He/she prefers to keep his/her problems rather than sharing them with me.	.60		.41	-.24
CQ6: He is always meddling in my relationships with my friends. FQ6: I am always meddling in his/her relationships with his/her friends.		.69		.71
CQ4: He always insists me to do what he wants FQ4: I always insist him/her to do what I want.		.63		.66

CQ12: He gives me instructions as to what to do. FQ12: I give him instructions as to what to do.		.66		.60
CQ8: He cannot tolerate my opinion as we have a difference of opinion (about my life). FQ8: I cannot tolerate his/her opinion, as we have a difference of opinion (about his/her life).	**-.33**	**.53**	-.31	.59
CQ2: He strictly controls all my behaviour FQ2: I strictly control all his/her behaviour.		.65	.33	.59
CQ18: He imposes on what I do in my leisure time. FQ18: I impose on what he/she do in his/her leisure time.		.57		.56
CQ22: He wants to know whom I will meet with, and what time I will meet. FQ22: I want to know whom he/she will meet with, and what time he/she will meet.		.52		.47
CQ20: He rarely let me go out with my friends. FQ20: I rarely let him/her go out with his/her friends	.26	.46	.30	.47
CQ10 ***(Reconsidered-omitted):*** He does not forgive me easily when I act contrary to his rules. **FQ10** ***(Omitted):*** I do not forgive him/her easily when he/she acts contrary to my rules.	***-.25***	***.52***	***-.20***	***.06***
CQ16 (Reconsidered-omitted): He does not let me stay out so late with friends. **FQ16** ***(Omitted):*** I do not let him/her stay out so late with friends.	***.13***	***.37***	***.27***	***.27***
CQ17 ***(Omitted):*** He does not blame me anything from reverse to his thoughts. **FQ17** ***(Omitted):*** I do not blame him/her anything from reverse to his thoughts.	***.38***	***-.37***	***.22***	***.30***
CQ14 ***(Omitted):*** He does not allow me to sit up late hours. **FQ14** ***(Omitted):*** I do not allow him/her to sit up late hours.	***.01***	***.27***	***.11***	***.15***

4.3.3 Reliability of the MCRS-Father and the MCRS-Child

Cronbach's coefficient alpha is the most frequently reported reliability index (Hogan *et al*. 2000; Peterson 1994). Cronbach reliability value more than .70 is regarded as satisfactory (Bland & Altman 1997; Nunnally & Bernstein 1994).

Cronbach reliabilities were found for the responsiveness as .83 and the demandingness as .74 for the MCRS-Father. The result shows that both dimensions' reliability values in the MCRS-Father were satisfactory.

For the MCSR-Child, Cronbach reliabilities were found for the responsiveness as .90 and the demandingness as .76. Thus both dimensions' reliability values in the MCRS-Child were satisfactory.

Consequently, both the MCRS-Father and the MCRS-Child for both the responsiveness and the demandingness had satisfactory Cronbach alpha values.

4.4 The 'demandingness' and the 'responsiveness' dimensions

The evaluation value of each question from participants' perspectives in the demandingness was added together to reach a demandingness score. Furthermore, the same process was employed for each question in the responsiveness, and a responsiveness score was composed for each participant.

The father-child pairs indicated a father-son, or a father-daughter pair as the fathers in each father-child pair filled out the questionnaire for their specific child, who also filled out the questionnaire for their fathers. Consequently, each father-child pair indicated a specific child even if fathers have more than

a child. This provided an opportunity to examine gender relations and fathering.

The demandingness and the responsiveness among the father-child pairs were compared with the paired *t*-test to indicate whether there was any significant difference in the father-child pairs for the dimensions. This examination sought to answer the sub-research question, '**is there a difference between fathers' reports and adolescents' perceptions of their fathers' fathering?'**. Table 4 illustrates relations between the perspectives of fathers and children about the scores of the responsiveness and the demandingness.

Table 4: *relations between the perspectives of fathers and children about responsiveness and demandingness*

		Paired differences						t	df	Sig. (2-tailed
		Mean	Std deviation	Std Deviation	Std Error Mean	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference				
						Lower	Upper			
Responsiveness	Father	39.96	5.67	5.14	.26	1.77	2.82	8.60	579	.000
	Child	37.66	8.00							
Demandingness	Father	23.53	5.38	5.14	.21	1.16	2.00	7.47	579	.004
	Child	21.95	6.10							

A paired *t*-test was conducted to compare the responsiveness scores in the perspectives of fathers and children. Table 4 shows the paired samples *t*-test for responsiveness. There was a significant difference in the scores for fathers' (M=39.96, SD=5.6) and children's (M=37.66, SD=8.0) perspectives; t(579)=8.60, p <.001.

This result suggests that fathers and children had different perceptions of responsive behaviour. Specifically, the result indicates that fathers' perceptions of responsive behaviour were significantly higher than children's

perceptions. This dissimilarity might also demonstrate that fathers perceived they were more accepting and involved than did children.

Furthermore, a paired *t*-test was conducted to compare the demandingness scores of the perspectives of fathers and children. Table 4 shows the paired samples *t*-test for the demandingness. There was a significant difference in the scores for fathers' (M=23.53, SD=5.3) and children's (M=21.95, SD=6.1) perspectives; t(579)=7.47, p <.01.

This result suggests that fathers and children had different perceptions of demanding behaviour. Specifically, the result indicates that fathers' perceptions of demanding behaviour were significantly higher than children's perceptions. This dissimilarity might also demonstrate that fathers perceived they had more strict control and supervision behaviour than did children.

The independent-sample *t*-test was conducted for gender and the demandingness and the responsiveness of the perspectives of fathers and children in order to indicate whether there was any significant difference for gender. This examination sought to find answers two questions, **'do boy and girl adolescents differ in their perceptions of their fathers' fathering?' and 'do fathers' perceptions of their fathering differ according to target adolescent's gender?'**. Table 5 displays relations between gender and the scores of the demandingness and the responsiveness from the perspectives of fathers and children.

An independent-sample *t*-test was conducted to look at differences in fathers' responsiveness scores with gender. Table 5 shows the independent-samples *t*-test for fathers' responsiveness and gender. There was a significant difference in the scores for fathers, who had a son (M=39.29, SD=6.3) and fathers, who had a daughter (M=40.44, SD=5.9); t (578)=2.41, p<.05.

This result suggests that fathers had different perceptions of their responsiveness in relation to behaviours to their sons and daughters. Specifically, the result indicates that perceptions of their responsiveness were significantly less for fathers of a son than fathers of a daughter. This difference might also show that fathers perceived less acceptance and involvement behaviour to their son than their daughter. It also showed that gender influenced fathers' responsiveness.

Table 5: *relations between gender and responsiveness and demandingness*.

				Differences				t	df	Sig. (2-tailed
		Mean	Std deviation	Std Deviation	Std Error Mean	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference				
						Lower	Upper			
Father Responsiveness	Daughter	40.44	5.47	1.14	.47	.21	.21	2.41	578	**.016**
	Son	39.29	5.88							
Father Demandingness	Daughter	23.52	5.17	-.02	.45	-.92	.86	-.06	578	.94
	Son	23.55	5.67							
Child Responsiveness	Girl	37.94	8.47	.66	.67	-.66	1.98	.98	578	.32
	Boy	37.28	7.30							
Child Demandingness	Girl	21.42	5.90	-1.25	.51	-2.25	-.24	-2.44	578	**.015**
	Boy	22.67	6.31							

However, there was not significant difference between gender and the scores of children's responsiveness; t (578)=.98, p>.05 . The result suggests that boys and girls had similar perception of their fathers' responsiveness behaviours.

Moreover, an independent-sample *t*-test was conducted to look at differences in children's demandingness scores with gender. Table 5 shows the independent-samples *t*-test for children's demandingness and gender. There was a significant difference in the scores for boys (M=22.67, SD=6.3) and girls (M=21.42, SD=5.9); t (578)=-2.45, p<.05.

This result suggests that boys and girls had different perceptions of their fathers' behaviour of 'demandingness'. Specifically, the result indicates that

boys' perceptions of their fathers' demandingness was significantly higher than girls' perceptions. This difference also showed that boys perceived their fathers as stricter and more surveilling than girls.

However, there was not significant difference between gender and the scores of fathers' demandingness; t (578)=-.06, p>.05. The result suggests that fathers had the similar perception of their behaviour of 'demandingness' in relation to their sons and daughters.

Overall, adolescent boys perceived significantly higher stricter control and supervision than adolescent girls whereas fathers perceived less acceptance and involvement behaviour to their son than their daughter. Furthermore, fathers had significantly higher perceptions of acceptance and involvement and strict control and supervision behaviour than children perceived.

The scores of demandingness and responsiveness provided an opportunity to compare the perspectives of fathers and adolescents about fathering. However, fathering is a blend of demandingness and responsiveness and their combinations reflect parenting styles. Therefore, fathering styles are assessed by combinations of demandingness and responsiveness in the following.

4.4.1 Fathering styles with the Baumrind's parenting styles

Baumrind and other researchers on parenting assessed parenting by demandingness and responsiveness, and its results compose the parenting styles, which includes authoritative, authoritarian, permissive and neglectful contrasting continuums of styles. Accordingly, those whose scores are above the median on both dimensions are labelled as 'authoritative'; scores which are above the median on demandingness and below the median on responsiveness are considered as 'authoritarian'; those scores which are above the median on responsiveness and below the median on

demandingness are assigned as ‘permissive’; and finally, scores which are below the median on both dimensions are grouped as ‘neglectful’.

Before composing fathering styles cross the two dimensions, it was useful to demonstrate statistical differences between the median and mean in order to clarify possible different population groups for each fathering style.

‘Median’ shows the point of the score at which half of the cases are higher and half are lower whereas ‘mean’ points out the arithmetic average, which is the sum of all scores divided by the total number of them (Nueman 2013). Consequently, ‘mean’ and ‘median’ generate different scores. Table 6 shows ‘mean’ and ‘median’ scores from the MCRS-Father and the MCRS-Child.

Table 6: *Mean and Median Scores for responsiveness and demandingness in the MCRS-Father and the MCRS-Child*

	Mean	**Median**	**Differences in Frequencies between mean and median**
The *responsiveness score*			
Fathers	39.9621	40.0000	----
Children	37.6638	39.0000	Less than 51 children
The *demandingness score*			
Fathers	23.5379	23.0000	Less than 40 fathers
Children	21.9552	21.0000	Less than 24 children

The median and mean scores in MCRS-Child and MCRS-Father were analysed possibilities of their results. Scores of mean and median for the responsiveness and the demandingness in the MCRS-Father had almost similar values, but these scores were different in the MCRS-Child. According to the demandingness scores in the MCRS-Child, less than 24 children (less than 4%) would be in different group if the mean score were used instead of the median. According to the responsiveness scores in the MCRS-Child, less than 51 participants (less than 8.8%) would be in different groups if the mean

were employed instead of median. Furthermore, there would be a different group for fathers with the responsiveness score if the mean score were used instead of the median, but less than 40 fathers (less than 6.8%) would be in a different group.

The different populations between mean and median scores in the MCRS-Child did not affect the fathering style significantly. Furthermore, the original MCRS study, Sumer and Gungor (1999), and other studies employed 'median' to reach four parenting styles, given this, this study also applied the median for the Baumrind's parenting styles.

4.4.1.1 Fathering styles from fathers' perspectives

The scores of demandingness and responsiveness from fathers' perspectives were crossed to assess their fathering styles. This process sought to answer the question, **'what are fathers' fathering styles?'**.

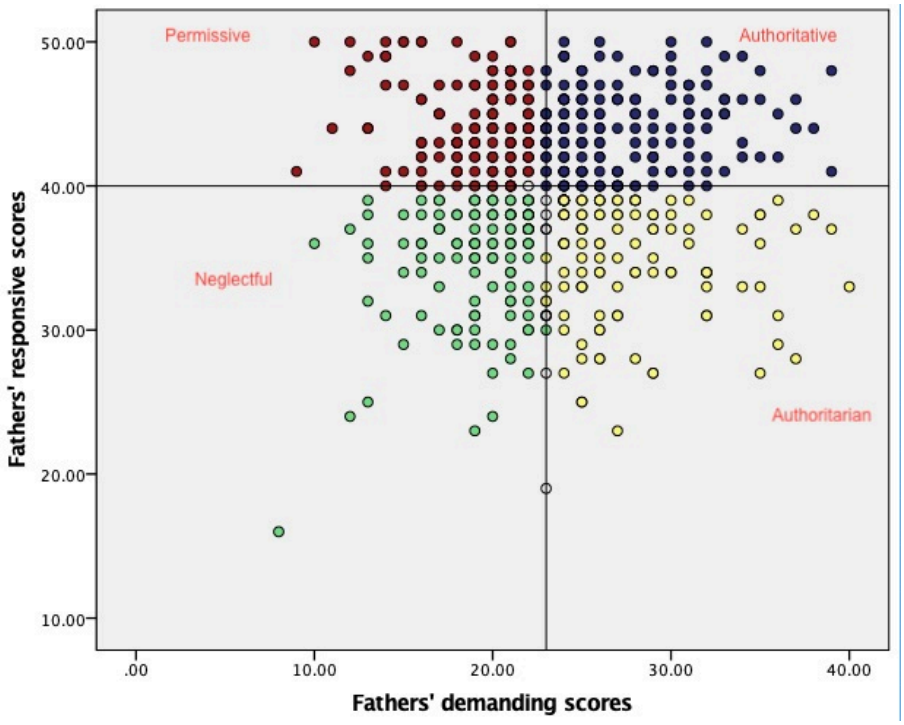
After crossing the two dimensions with median scores in the MCRS-Father, 186 fathers (32.1%) were classified as authoritative; 136 fathers (23.4%) were categorised as authoritarian; 141 fathers (24.3%) were classified as permissive, and 117 fathers (20.2%) grouped as neglectful. Table 7 shows the classified fathering styles by fathers' reports. It was clear that more than a quarter of fathers were classified as authoritative among the 580 fathers, and authoritarian and permissive parenting were both approaching 25%. Neglectful fathering was the least classified parenting styles for fathers.

A scatter graph was composed to visualise the results of the fathering styles in order to understand accumulations of each father's result. Figure 8 displays a scatter graph of the classified fathering styles by fathers' reports, with the blue colour for authoritative parenting; yellow colour for authoritarian parenting; red colour for permissive parenting, and green colour for neglectful parenting. The horizontal and veridical lines represent the median.

Table 7: *Classified fathering styles by fathers' reports*

Fathering from fathers' perspectives	Number	%
Authoritative	186	32.1
Permissive	141	24.3
Authoritarian	136	23.4
Neglectful	117	20.2
Total	580	100

Figure 8: *Scatter of the classified fathering styles by fathers' reports*



Fathers among the authoritative parenting group were close to each other and gathered around its median scores whereas fathers among the authoritarian group were a distance to each other and gathered away from its median. Furthermore, fathers among permissive and neglectful parenting groups were more distant from each other and the cumulated distance from their median. It could be said that fathers among the authoritative fathering

group had more similar scores whereas fathers among authoritarian, permissive and neglectful fathering groups had variety range scores.

Fathering styles were classified by fathers' reports regardless of having a son or a daughter in order to demonstrate general fathering classifications from the fathers' perspectives. In the following section, fathers' perspectives, with their children's gender, are separately analysed to demonstrate fathering styles of having a son or a daughter. This process sought to find an answer the question, **'How does the gender of child effect fathering styles?'**. As mentioned earlier, fathers were asked to target a specific child when they filled out the questionnaire.

According to the MCRS-Father-having a son, 74 fathers (30.2%) were classified as authoritative; 64 fathers (26.1%) were grouped as authoritarian; 56 fathers (22.9%) were identified as permissive, and 51 fathers (20.8%) were classified as neglectful. It was clear that one-third of fathers were classified as authoritative among 245 fathers who had a son, and authoritarian parenting was classified with more than a quarter for 64 fathers. Permissive and neglectful parenting were classified with almost similar values as a quarter.

According to the MCRS-Father-having a daughter, 112 fathers (33.4%) were classified as authoritative; 72 fathers (21.5%) were identified as authoritarian; 85 fathers (25.4%) were indicated as permissive, and 51 fathers (15.2%) were grouped as neglectful. The result indicated that more than one-third of fathers were classified as authoritative among 335 fathers who had a daughter. Neglectful fathering was the least classified parenting style for those fathers. Table 8 illustrates the classified fathering styles by fathers' reports, in terms of having a son and a daughter.

Table 8: *Classified fathering styles by fathers' reports regarding having a son and a daughter*

Fathering from fathers' own perspectives	Having a son		Having a daughter	
	N	%	N	%
Authoritative	**74**	**30.2**	**112**	**33.4**
Authoritarian	64	26.1	72	21.5
Permissive	56	22.9	85	25.4
Neglectful	51	20.8	51	15.2
Total	245	100	335	100

Regardless of children's gender, fathers' reports were mostly classified as authoritative, with the fewest reports being classified as neglectful. Authoritarian and permissive parenting had the different rank for having sons or daughters, and the second most classified fathering style among fathers was permissive, if they have a daughter, and authoritarian, if they have a son.

Different results for the second most classified fathering style raised a question about whether fathers exhibited different behaviours to their son or daughter. Therefore, this study sought to answer a question, **'is there a difference between the classified fathering styles from fathers' perspectives and having a son or a daughter?'**.

A chi-square test of independence was applied to examine the relation between the classified fathering styles from fathers' perspectives and children's sex. The relation between these variables was not significant X^2 (3, N = 580) = 2.20, p >.05.

Overall, by their own reports on their fathering, a slightly higher number of the fathers were classified as authoritative, and the least number of fathers were grouped as neglectful. These results did not significantly differ in

regards to their children's gender. In the following part, adolescents' perceptions of their fathers' parenting is analysed.

4.4.1.2 Fathering styles from adolescent children's perspectives

The scores of the demandingness and responsiveness from adolescents' perspectives were crossed to assess their fathers' parenting styles. This process sought to answer the question, **'what are fathers' fathering styles?'**.

The same process of assessing fathering styles for fathers' reports was also employed for adolescents' reports. According to the MCRS-Child, 174 children's (30%) reports on their fathers were classified as authoritarian; 148 children's (25.5%) reports were identified their fathers as authoritative; 145 children' (25%) reports were grouped their fathers as permissive, and 113 children's (19.5%) reports were classified their fathers as neglectful.

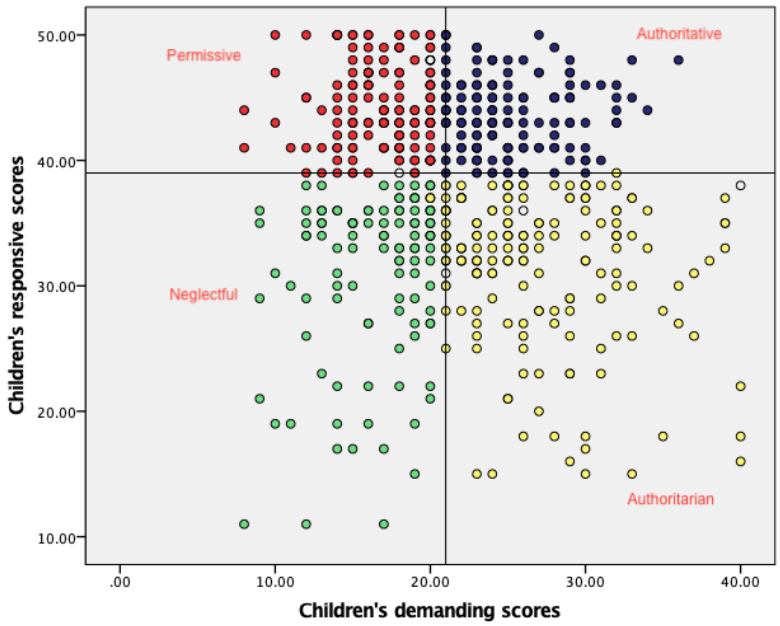
Table 9 shows the classified fathering styles by adolescents' reports. It was clear that more than a quarter of children's reports, classified their fathers as authoritarian among 580 adolescent children, and authoritative and permissive parenting were classified similarly as a quarter. Neglectful fathering was the least classified parenting styles.

Table 9: *Classified fathering styles by adolescents' reports*

Fathering from children's perspectives	Number	%
Authoritarian	**174**	**30.0**
Authoritative	148	25.5
Permissive	145	25.0
Neglectful	113	19.5
Total	580	100

A scatter graph was composed to the visualise results of the fathering styles in order to understand accumulations of each child's result. Figure 9 displays a scatter graph of the classified fathering styles by children's reports with the blue colour indicating authoritative parenting; yellow colour for authoritarian parenting; red colour for permissive parenting, and green colour for neglectful parenting. The horizontal and veridical lines indicate the median.

Figure 9: *Scatter of the classified fathering styles by adolescents' reports*



The classified fathering styles by adolescents' reports for authoritative and permissive fathering were gathered around the median scores, and their accumulations were close to each individual score. However, authoritarian and neglectful fathering were at a distance from each other and distant from their median. It could be said that authoritative and permissive fathering from children's perspectives had less variance among the individual scores whereas authoritarian and neglectful fathering had a varied range of scores.

Fathering styles were classified by adolescents' reports regardless of their gender in order to demonstrate general fathering classifications from adolescents' perspectives. In the following part, adolescents' perspectives with their gender are separately analysed to demonstrate fathering styles

from the perspectives of adolescent boys and girls. This process sought to find an answer the question, **'how does the gender of child effect fathering styles?'.**

According to the MCRS-Child-Boy, 85 boys' reports (34.7%) classified their fathers as authoritarian; 67 boys' reports (27.3%) grouped their fathers as authoritative; 43 boys' reports (17.6%) identified their fathers as permissive, and 50 boys' reports (20.4%) classified their fathers as neglectful. It was clear that more than one-third of boys' reports classified their fathers as authoritarian among 245 boys, and authoritative parenting was described by more than a quarter for 67 boys. Permissive fathering was the least classified parenting styles by boys' reports.

According to the MCRS-Child-Girls, 89 girls' reports (26.6%) classified their fathers as authoritarian; 81 girls' reports (21.4%) grouped their fathers as authoritative; 102 girls' reports (30.4%) identified their fathers as permissive, and 63 girls' reports (18.8%) classified their fathers as neglectful. The results indicated that one-third of girls' reports classified their fathers as permissive one of 335 girls. Authoritarian and authoritative parenting were grouped similarly as a quarter. Neglectful fathering was the least classified parenting styles by girls' reports. Table 10 displays the classified fathering styles by adolescents' reports regarding gender.

Table 10: *Classified fathering styles by perspectives of boys and girls*

Fathering from children's perspectives	Boys		Girls	
	N	%	N	%
Authoritarian	**85**	**34.7**	89	26.6
Authoritative	67	27.3	81	24.1
Permissive	43	17.6	**102**	**30.4**
Neglectful	50	20.4	63	18.8
Total	245	100	335	100

Adolescent boys and girls had different perceptions of their fathers' behaviour, with the girls' reports mostly classifying their fathers as permissive whereas permissive parenting was the least classified fathering style by boys' reports. Moreover, boys' reports mainly classified their fathers as authoritarian while authoritarian parenting was the penultimate parenting in order hierarchy with girls' reports. It showed that the girls mostly perceived their fathers as having friendly behaviour whereas boys mostly perceived their fathers as having rules and boundaries.

Different results from the reports of adolescent boys and girls emphasised a question whether their fathers had significant different behaviour to them. Therefore, this study sought to answer the question, **'is there a difference between the classified fathering styles from adolescents' perspectives and gender?'**.

A chi-square test of independence was performed to examine the relation between the classified fathering style from children's perspectives and gender. The relation between these variables was significant X^2 (9, N = 580) = 13.27, p <.01. Adolescent girls' reports were more likely to classify their fathers as permissive than were adolescent boys' reports. Moreover, adolescent boys' reports were more likely to classify their fathers as authoritarian than were adolescent girls' reports.

Overall, the data suggests that, of the styles in question, adolescents classified 'neglectful' fathering as the least and this did not differ by children's gender. However, in relation to authoritarian and permissive styles, there was a divide with boys' reports mostly regarding their fathers as authoritarian, whereas girls' reports mostly classifying their fathers as permissive.

The classified fathering styles from the perspectives of fathers and adolescents were separately analysed, but this examination did not provide similarities and differences between the reports of fathers and adolescents

together. Therefore, the classified fathering styles are analysed based on the perspectives of fathers and adolescent together in the following.

4.4.1.3 Fathering styles from the perspectives of both fathers and adolescent together

This section covers the classified fathering styles together from the perspectives of fathers and adolescents to display similarities and differences between them via the styles' percentages, scatter graphs and cross tabulation.

The classified fathering styles from the perspectives of fathers and adolescents together were analysed to display similarities and differences between the perspectives. Therefore, this study sought to answer the question, **'is there similarity and difference between the classified fathering styles from the perspectives of fathers and adolescents?'**.

Table 11 shows the classified fathering styles from the perspectives of fathers and children together, with their number and percentages. The reports of fathers and children were classified with similar percentages and hierarchical order for neglectful fathering, but the results of their reports had different percentages and hierarchical order for other parenting styles.

Table 11*: Classified reports of fathers and adolescents on fathering styles together*

Fathering style	By fathers' reports		By children's reports	
	Number	%	Number	%
Authoritative	**186**	**32.1**	148	25.5
Authoritarian	136	23.4	**174**	**30.0**
Permissive	141	24.3	145	25.0
Neglectful	117	20.2	113	19.5
Total	580	100	580	100

According to the hierarchical order of the classified fathering styles' percentages, fathers' reports were classified as authoritative, permissive, authoritarian and neglectful, respectively whereas children's reports were classified their fathers as authoritarian, authoritative, permissive and neglectful. In both classified reports of fathers and children, neglectful fathering styles obtained the lowest percentage of nearly 20%.

32 percent of fathers' and 25.5 percent of children's reports classified fathers' behaviour as authoritative whereas 23.4 percent of fathers' and 30 percent of children' reports, identified fathers' behaviour as authoritarian. There was an almost 7-percentage difference between the classification of authoritative and authoritarian fathering from fathers' and children's perspectives. Furthermore, the described authoritative fathering among fathers came in first, but it was in second place among adolescent children; whereas the classified authoritarian fathering among fathers took third place, but among children ranked first. Consequently, children's reports classified their fathers as more authoritarian than their fathers, whereas fathers' reports classified themselves as more authoritative than children.

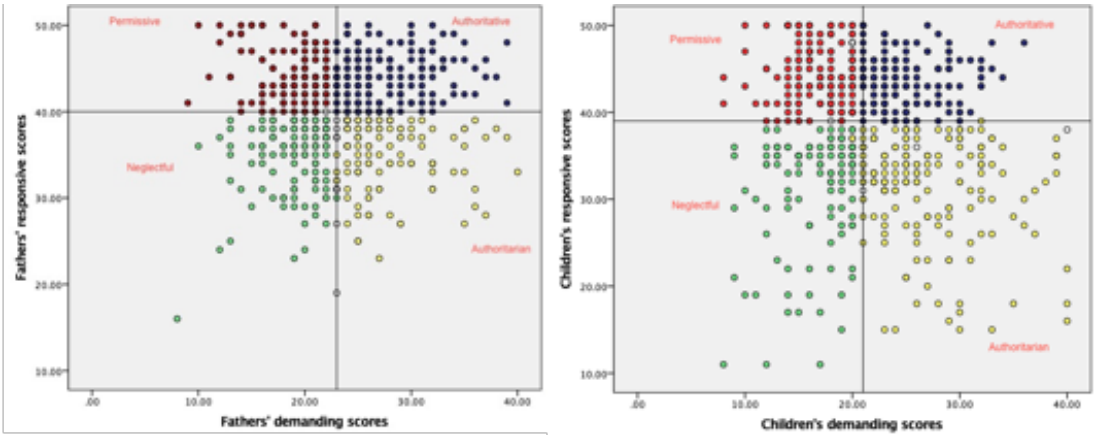
The classified permissive fathering had different ranking among fathers and children with fathers' reports classifying it in the second place whereas children' reports grouped it in the third place. However, the percentages of the classified permissive fathering were close to authoritarian from fathers' perspectives and to authoritative from children's perspectives. In other words, fathers' reports that were classified as authoritarian and permissive fathering had almost similar percentages, 23.4% and 24.3% respectively whereas children's reports classified as authoritative and permissive fathering with nearly similar percentages, 25.5% and 25% respectively. Therefore, the classified permissive fathering came in the same ranking order for both perspectives of fathers and children.

Overall, differences between the reports of fathers and adolescents showed that authoritative parenting was more dominant among fathers whereas authoritarian parenting was more visible among children. However, the reports of fathers and children classified the neglectful fathering style at almost 20%, which was the lowest ranking fathering style whereas their reports classified the permissive fathering with nearly 25%.

Scatter graphs were composed to visualise results of the fathering styles in order to understand accumulations for each participant's result. Figure 10 shows the scatter of the classified fathering styles by reports of fathers and adolescents together with blue colour indicating authoritative parenting; yellow colour for authoritarian parenting; red colour for permissive parenting, and green colour for neglectful parenting. As can be seen in the figure, authoritative and authoritarian parenting accumulated more intensively in the results of the classified fathering by fathers' reports than children's reports, but permissive parenting accumulated more intensively among the results of classified fathering by children's reports than fathers' reports. In other words, each result of the participants that classified fathers as authoritative and authoritarian appeared more distant in children's results than fathers' whereas each result of the participants for permissive seemed more distance in fathers' results than children's. It showed that the classified authoritative and authoritarian parenting had more similar ratings among fathers than children, but children's reports classified more similar rating for permissive parenting than fathers' reports.

Neglectful parenting appeared slightly more intensive among fathers rather than children, but its indications of parenting scores both were distant from the medians. It could be said that neglectful parenting was classified with various rating scores and it was more visible among children.

Figure 10: Scatter of the classified fathering styles by fathers' and adolescents' reports together



Percentages and scatters of the reports of fathers and children demonstrated the rate of the classified fathering styles, but there was a need to have a more explicit arrangement to see relations between each fathering styles from the reports of fathers and children. Cross-tabulation demonstrates the percentage or number of cases at intersections of variables categories in a contingency table (Neuman 2013). Therefore, cross tabulation might be better for analysis of combinations between the rate of the classifying fathering styles by the reports of fathers and children. Table 12 depicts a cross-tabulation between the classified fathering styles by the reports of fathers and children.

'Chi-square' is used in a cross-tabulation when each cell's frequency is more than 5 (Howitt and Cramer 2011). As can be seen in the table 12, minimum frequency in cells is 10. This result indicates that 'chi-square' was able to analysis in the data.

A chi-square test of independence was performed to examine the relation between the classified fathering styles by the reports of fathers and children. The relation between these variables was significant X 2 (9, N = 580) = 264.4, p <.001.

There was a need to examine which cells have significant contributions so that an ‘adjusted residual value’ was run. There was a significant correlation as ‘adjusted residual value’ has to be bigger than 2 or less than -2. Table 12 also illustrates each cells’ ‘adjusted residual value’. In the following parts, the detailed contributions of the father-child agreement are described. I will also return to the father-child agreement in the discussion at the end of this chapter.

As can be seen in the table 12, within-father-child agreement in the classified fathering styles was examined, and around half father-child pairs, among each parenting style groups, matched the same fathering styles. For example, 79 father-child pairs matched as authoritative; 80 father-child pairs matched as authoritarian; 79 father-child pairs matched as permissive and 61 father-child pairs matched as neglectful. However, there were also different results in the classified fathering styles fathers and children which is detailed below.

186 fathers’ reports indicated their parenting styles as authoritative and of these, 79 father-child pairs agreed, but 107 children’ reports classified different styles for their fathers. In other words, 42 percent of fathers among those classified as authoritative had the same classification as their children, but 58 percent of fathers’ reports did not match their children in relation to authoritative parenting. Furthermore, 148 children’s reports assessed their fathers as authoritative, and 79 father-child pairs agreed, but 69 fathers’ reports were classified different styles from their children. 53 percent of children who classified their fathers as authoritative were in an agreement with their fathers, but 43 percent of children did not match their fathers. The ‘adjusted residual’ was 6.4, and given the authoritative-authoritative cell was bigger than 2; there was a significant correlation between reports of fathers and children about the classification authoritative parenting. It showed that fathers and children had significant agreement when both of their reports were classified fathers as authoritative.

Table 12: *Cross-tabulation between the classified fathering styles by the reports of fathers and children*

			The Classified Fathering by Fathers' Reports				Total
			Authoritative	Authoritarian	Permissive	Neglectful	
The Classified fathering by Children's reports	Authoritative	Count	79	24	32	13	148
		% within child reports	53.4%	16.2%	21.6%	8.8%	100.0%
		% within father reports	42.5%	17.6%	22.7%	11.1%	25.5%
		% of total	**13.6%**	4.1%	5.5%	2.2%	25.5%
		Adjusted residual	**6.4**	**-2.4**	-.9	**-4.0**	
	Authoritarian	Count	54	80	10	30	174
		% within child reports	31.0%	46.0%	5.7%	17.2%	100.0%
		% within father reports	29.0%	58.8%	7.1%	25.6%	30.0%
		% of total	9.3%	**13.8%**	1.7%	5.2%	30.0%
		Adjusted residual	-.3	**8.4**	**-6.8**	-1.2	
	Permissive	Count	42	11	79	13	145
		% within child reports	29.0%	7.6%	54.5%	9.0%	100.0%
		% within father reports	22.6%	8.1%	56.0%	11.1%	25.0%
		% of total	7.2%	1.9%	**13.6%**	2.2%	25.0%
		Adjusted residual	-.9	**-5.2**	**9.8**	**-3.9**	
	Neglectful	Count	11	21	20	61	113
		% within child reports	9.7%	18.6%	17.7%	54.0%	100.0%
		% within father reports	5.9%	15.4%	14.2%	52.1%	19.5%
		% of total	1.9%	3.6%	3.4%	10.5%	19.5%
		Adjusted residual	**-5.7**	-1.4	-1.8	**10.0**	
Total		Count	186	136	141	117	580
		% within child reports	32.1%	23.4%	24.3%	20.2%	100.0%
		% within father reports	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of total	32.1%	23.4%	24.3%	20.2%	100.0%

136 fathers' reports classified their parenting styles as authoritarian and so did 80 father-child pairs, but 56 children's reports classified different styles from their fathers. In other words, 59 percent of fathers among those classified as authoritarian were the same as their children, but 41 percent of fathers did not match their children's classification. Furthermore, 174

children's reports regarded their fathers as authoritarian and 80 father-child pairs agreed, but the results of 94 fathers' reports were different styles from their children. 46 percent of children among those who classified their fathers as authoritarian, had the same results as their fathers, but 54 percent of children did not match. The 'adjusted residual' was 8.4 in the authoritative-authoritative cell, and as it was bigger than 2, there was a significant correlation between the reports of fathers and children about the classification authoritarian parenting. It showed that fathers and children had significant agreement when both of their reports were classified fathers as authoritarian.

141 fathers reports classified their parenting styles as permissive, and 79 father-child pairs did as well, but 62 children's reports classified their fathers differently. In other words, 56 percent of fathers who classified themselves as permissive were in agreement with their children, but 44 percent of fathers reports did not match with their children. Moreover, 145 children's reports pointed out their fathers as permissive and 79 father-child pairs agreed on it, but 66 fathers' reports had different styles from their children. 55 percent of children among those classifying their fathers as permissive were in agreement with their father, but 45 percent of children did not. The 'adjusted residual' was 9.8 in the permissive-permissive cell that and being bigger than 2; there was a significant correlation between perceptions of fathers and children about the classification permissive parenting. It showed that fathers and children had significant agreement when both of their reports classified fathers as permissive.

117 fathers' reports classified their parenting styles as neglectful and 61 father-child pairs did as well, but 56 children's reports classified their fathers with different styles. In other words, 52 percent of fathers among those classified as neglectful were in agreement with their children, but 48 percent of fathers' reports did not match with their children. Moreover, 113 children's reports indicated their fathers had a neglectful parenting style and 61 father-

child pairs agreed on it, but 52 fathers' reports grouped different styles from their children. 54 percent of children who classified their fathers as neglectful, aligned with their fathers' perceptions of being neglectful, but 46 percent of children did not. The 'adjusted residual' was 10.0 in the neglectful-neglectful cell and much bigger than 2, so there was a significant correlation between the results of the reports of fathers and children about the classification neglectful parenting. It showed that fathers and children had significant agreement when both of their reports were assessed the fathers' parenting styles as neglectful.

117 fathers' reports classified their parenting styles as neglectful and 61 father-child pairs had the same result, but 56 children's reports classified different styles. In other words, 52 percent of fathers among those classified as neglectful were the same as their children, but 48 percent of fathers' reports did not match with their children. Moreover, 113 children's reports showed their fathers as neglectful and 61 father-child pairs also agreed it, but 52 fathers' reports grouped themselves differently from their children. 54 percent of children who classified their fathers as neglectful were the same as their fathers', but 46 percent of children did not match. The 'adjusted residual' was 10.0 in the neglectful-neglectful, so there was a significant correlation between the results of the reports of fathers and children about the classification neglectful parenting. It showed that fathers and children were in significant agreement when both of their reports were grouped the fathers as neglectful.

Those results highlight the significant overlap in the classification of fathering styles from the reports of fathers and adolescents. In the following, relations between the classified fathering styles from the reports of fathers and adolescents are analysed using the results of different fathering styles.

11 children's reports classified their fathers as neglectful when 186 fathers' reports assessed themselves as authoritative. Furthermore, 13 fathers'

reports classified themselves as neglectful when 148 children's reports grouped their fathers as authoritative. The 'adjusted residual' was -5.7 in the authoritative-neglectful cell and -4.0 in the neglectful-authoritative cell. As these values were less than -2, their results showed that there was a significant relation: when fathers' reports were classified as neglectful whereas children's reported their fathers as authoritative, and vice versa.

While 186 fathers' reports were grouped as authoritative, 54 of their children's reports classified these as authoritarian. Moreover, 24 fathers' reports pointed out their parenting styles as authoritarian whereas 148 children's reports classified their fathers as authoritative. The 'adjusted residual' was found -.3 in the authoritarian-authoritative cell and -2.4 in the authoritative-authoritarian cell. These results indicated that there was a significant relation: when children's reports classified their fathers as authoritative whereas fathers' reports were grouped as authoritarian, however there was not significant relation: when children's reports grouped their fathers as authoritarian while fathers' reports classified as authoritative.

42 children's reports classified their fathers as permissive when 186 fathers' reports were grouped as authoritative. Furthermore, 32 fathers' reports were classified as permissive when 148 children's reports grouped their fathers as authoritative. The 'adjusted residual' was found -.9 in the permissive-authoritative and the authoritative-permissive cells with the value being less than -2. Their results show that there was not significant relation: when fathers' reports were classified as permissive whereas children's reports grouped their fathers as authoritative, and vice versa.

11 children's reports grouped their fathers as permissive when 136 fathers' reports were classified as authoritarian. Furthermore, 10 fathers' reports grouped as permissive when 174 children's reports were classified their fathers as authoritarian. The 'adjusted residual' was -5.2 in the permissive-authoritarian cell and -6.8 in the authoritarian-permissive cell, and these

values were less than -2. Their results showed that there was a significant relation: when fathers' reports were classified as authoritarian whereas children's reports grouped their fathers as permissive, and vice versa.

21 children indicated their fathers were neglectful when 136 fathers perceived themselves as authoritarian. Furthermore, 30 fathers perceived themselves as neglectful when 174 children perceived their fathers as authoritarian. The 'adjusted residual' was -1.2 in the neglectful-authoritarian and the authoritative-neglectful cells and the value was more than -2. Their results show that there was not significant relation: when fathers perceived themselves as authoritarian whereas children perceived their fathers as neglectful, and vice versa.

While 141 fathers' reports were grouped as permissive, their 20 children's reports were classified as neglectful. Moreover, 13 fathers' reports classified their parenting styles as neglectful whereas 145 children's reports grouped their fathers as permissive. The 'adjusted residual' was -1.8 in the neglectful-permissive cell and -3.9 in the permissive-neglectful cell. These results indicated that there was a significant relation: when children's reports grouped their fathers as permissive while fathers' reports were grouped as neglectful, but there was not significant relation: when children's reports classified their fathers as neglectful whereas fathers' reports were grouped as permissive.

Furthermore, the biggest percentage of total father-child pairs was 14% in the authoritative-authoritative, authoritarian-authoritarian and permissive-permissive cells whereas the second biggest percentage of total father-child pairs was 11% in the neglectful-neglectful cell. It could be said that more than half father-child pairs shared had the same classification of parenting styles.

The chi-square suggested differences in classification and further tests showed where there were discrepancies. The results of the reports of fathers

and children created 16 different cell groups by 4X4 cross-tabulation. There were significant relations in 10 cells in terms of authoritative-authoritative, authoritarian-authoritarian, permissive-permissive, neglectful-neglectful, authoritative-authoritarian, authoritative-neglectful, authoritarian-permissive, permissive-authoritarian, permissive-neglectful and neglectful-authoritative. However, there was not significant relation in the other 6 cells, that is, authoritative-permissive, authoritarian-authoritative, authoritarian-neglectful, permissive-authoritative, neglectful-authoritarian and neglectful-permissive.

Overall, when the results of the reports of both groups are compared, the data suggests that children's reports classified their fathers as more authoritarian than did their fathers themselves, and fathers' reports were grouped as more authoritative than the children's reports. However, more than half of father-child pairs matched the same classification of parenting styles.

4.4.2 Demographic variables with fathering results from the reports of fathers and adolescents

This section engages with statistical outcomes of demographic variables and fathering results from the reports of fathers and children in order to examine the relation between them. Thus, this analysis aims to respond to the research question, **'does fathering style vary according to fathers' age and educational level, family income and children's age and grade?**

The scores of demandingness and responsiveness were the main ingredients of parenting styles, and their combination was used to develop a classification of the fathering styles. Therefore, analysis of fathering engaged with the scores of demandingness and responsiveness as well as fathering styles. This study also followed a common academic approach of consideration the relations between demographic variables and fathering results. Consequently, this study examined not only the relationship between

demographic variables and the demandingness and responsiveness but also the relationship between demographic variables and the classified fathering styles from the reports of fathers and adolescents.

‘Fathers' age group’, ‘fathers' educational level’, ‘family income’ and ‘children's grade’ were categorical variables whereas the scores of responsiveness and demandingness were scale variables. Therefore, ‘a one-way between subjects ANOVA’ was used to compare relations between these demographic variables and the scores of responsiveness and demandingness. Furthermore, a ‘Pearson correlation’ was used between children's age and the scores of responsiveness and demandingness.

The classified fathering styles and the demographic variables of fathers’ age, fathers’ education level, and children’s grade were categorical classifications so that a cross tabulation was composed for each relation. When a cell’s frequency was more than 5, the chi-square was computed, whereas when a cell’s frequency was less than 5, the Fisher’s exact test was run. The relation between children’s age and the classified fathering style was also analysed with ‘a one-way between subjects ANOVA’ as age is numeric variable.

4.4.2.1 Fathers’ age

A question of ‘**is there a relation between fathers’ age and the scores of demandingness and responsiveness?’** was examined in the following. Table 13 shows ‘one-way between subjects ANOVA’ results with the fathers’ age groups as the independent variable and the scores of demandingness and responsiveness as the dependent variables.

A one-way between subjects ANOVA was conducted for differences in the children’s demanding scores and fathers’ age groups regarding ‘age≤40’, 41≤age≤45’, 46≤age≤50’ and ‘51≤age’. There was a significant relationship between children’s demanding scores on fathers’ age groups [F(3,

576)=3.13, p<.05]. Post hoc test was conducted to compare groups differed from each other. A Post Hoc LSD displayed that ‘age<41’ and ‘46≤age<51’; ‘46≤age<51’ and ‘46≤age<51’ groups differed significantly at p<.05. Adolescent children, whose fathers were in the ‘46≤age<51’ group, significantly reported higher demanding scores than children, whose fathers were in the ‘age<41’ group, and lower demanding scores than children, whose fathers were in the 46≤age<51’ group. It showed that adolescent children perceived stricter control and supervision from their fathers as their fathers’ age increased.

Table 13: *One-way between subjects ANOVA results with fathers’ age and the scores of demandingness and responsiveness*

		Sum of squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Fathers’ responsiveness	Between Groups	124.53	3	41.51	1.29	.27
	Within Groups	18534.62	576	32.17		
Children’s responsiveness	Between Groups	180.53	3	60.17	.93	.422
	Within Groups	36928.90	576	64.11		
Fathers’ demandingness	Between Groups	129.65	3	43.21	1.49	.21
	Within Groups	16684.51	576	28.99		
Children’s demandingness	Between Groups	346.26	3	115.42	3.13	**.02**
	Within Groups	21234.57	576	36.86		

However, there was not significant relationship between ‘children’s responsive scores and their fathers’ age group’ and between ‘fathers’ demanding and responsive scores and fathers’ age groups’.

This analysis also engaged with relations between the fathers’ age groups and the classified fathering styles from the reports of fathers and adolescents so that a question of ‘**is there a relation between fathers’ age and the classified fathering styles?’** was examined. A chi-square test of independence was performed to examine the relationship between the

classified fathering styles from the reports of fathers and fathers' age groups. The relation between these variables was not significant X 2 (9, N = 580) = 19.10, ns.

Another chi-square test of independence was run to examine the relationship between fathering style from children's perspectives and fathers' age groups. The relation between these variables was not significant X 2 (9, N = 580) = 12.20, ns. Both these results showed that there was not significant relationship between fathers' age and the classified fathering styles. Both results showed that there was not significant relationship between fathers' age and the classified fathering styles.

Overall, fathers' age was not significant in relation to fathering results except for the children's demanding scores. It showed that adolescents perceived more demandingness as their fathers' aged.

4.4.2.2 Fathers' education levels

A question of '**is there a relationship between the fathers' educational level and the scores of demandingness and responsiveness?'** were examined in the following. Table 14 shows 'one-way between subjects ANOVA' results with the fathers' educational levels as the independent variable and the scores of demandingness and responsiveness as the independent variables.

A one-way between subjects ANOVA was conducted for differences in fathers' demanding scores and fathers' educational levels as categorised as 'primary school', 'secondary school', 'high school' and 'university'. There was significant relationship of fathers' demandingness scores with fathers' age groups [F(3, 576)=2.70, p<.05]. A Post hoc test was conducted to compare groups difference with each other. A Post Hoc LSD displayed that 'primary school' and 'high school' groups differed significantly at p<.05. Fathers,

whose education level was ‘primary school’, significantly reported higher demanding scores than fathers, whose educational level was ‘high school’. It partly showed that fathers were stricter and more controlling when their educational level was lower.

However, there was not significant relation between ‘children’s demanding and responsive scores and their fathers’ educational levels’ and between ‘fathers’ responsive scores and the fathers’ educational levels’.

Table 14: *one-way between subjects ANOVA results with the fathers’ educational levels and the scores of demandingness and responsiveness*

		Sum of squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Fathers’ responsiveness	Between Groups	12.19	3	4.06	.12	.94
	Within Groups	18646.96	576	32.37		
Children’s responsiveness	Between Groups	53.95	3	17.98	.28	.84
	Within Groups	37055.48	576	64.33		
Fathers’ demandingness	Between Groups	233.75	3	77.91	2.707	**.04**
	Within Groups	16580.41	576	28.78		
Children’s demandingness	Between Groups	113.01	3	37.67	1.011	.38
	Within Groups	21467.82	576	37.27		

This analysis also considered relationships between the fathers’ educational levels and the classified fathering styles from the reports of fathers and

adolescents, so a question of '**is there a relation between the fathers' educational levels and the classified fathering styles?'** was examined. A chi-square test of independence was performed to examine the relationship between fathering style from fathers' perspectives and fathers' education level. The relation between these variables was not significant X 2 (9, N = 580) = 15.81,sn.

Another chi-square test of independence was run to examine the relationship between fathering style from children's perspectives and fathers' education level. The relationship between these variables was not significant X 2 (9, N = 580) = 11.65, sn. Both results showed that there was not significant relationship between fathers' education and the classified fathering styles.

Overall, fathers' educational levels had no significant relationship between fathering results, except for the fathers' demanding scores. Fathers' reports showed that fathers with only 'primary school' education were more demanding than fathers with higher education.

4.4.2.3 Children's age

This section covers the relations between children's age and the scores of demandingness and responsiveness. A 'Pearson correlation' was conducted as the age and scores were numeric variables. A question of '**is there a correlation between the children's age and the scores of demandingness and responsiveness?'** was examined in the following.

The 'Pearson correlation' results indicated that there was not significant relationship between children's age and the scores of demandingness and responsiveness from the perspectives of fathers and adolescents.

This section also analyses relationships between children's age and the classified fathering styles. 'One-way between subjects ANOVA' was

conducted as the age was numeric variable and the fathering style was categorical variable. A question of '**is there a relation between the children's age and the classified fathering styles?'** was examined in the following way.

A 'one-way between subjects ANOVA' result indicated that there was not significant relation between children's age and the classified fathering styles of the reports of fathers and adolescents.

Overall, there was not significant relationship between children's age and fathering in terms of the scores of responsiveness and demandingness and the classified fathering styles from the reports of fathers and adolescents.

4.4.2.4 Children's grade at school

This section covers relationships between children's grade and the scores of demandingness and responsiveness. 'One-way between subjects ANOVA' was conducted as the scores were numeric variables and the grade was categorical variable. A question of '**is there a relation between the children's grade and the scores of demandingness and responsiveness?'** was explored.

The 'one-way between subjects ANOVA' results indicated that there was not significant relationship between children's grade and the scores of demandingness and responsiveness from the perspectives of fathers and adolescents.

This section also considers the relationships between children's grade and the classified fathering styles. 'Chi-square test of independence' was conducted as the age and the styles were categorical variables. A question of '**is there a correlation between the children's grade and the classified fathering styles?'** were examined in the following.

A ‘chi-square test of independence’ was used to examine the relationship between the classified fathering styles from children’s reports and children’s grade. The relation between these variables was significant ($p < .05$). Table 15 displays the cross-tabulation between the classified fathering styles by children’s reports and children’s grade.

Since the contributions of their ‘adjusted residual values’, there were significant relations between children’s grade and the classified fathering styles by children’s reports. Specifically, the relation between ‘grade 9 and authoritative’ and ‘grade 11 and neglectful’ were significant.

These results showed that the classification of authoritative parenting by children’s reports was more visible at the beginning of high school whereas the classification of neglectful parenting by children’s reports was more visible in later high school. These outcomes were not in concordance with the results of children’s age, but children had variety of ages in each grade so that the results might be different. The different results might also indicate that grade was perceived as symbol of maturation rather than age.

Table 15: *cross-tabulation between children’s grade and the classified fathering styles by fathers’ reports*

			The classified fathering styles by children’s reports				
			Authoritative	Authoritarian	Permissive	Neglectful	Total
Children’s grade	Grade 9	Count	66	52	53	36	207
		Adjusted residual	**2.6**	-1.9	.3	-.9	
	Grade 10	Count	39	59	50	29	177
		Adjusted residual	-1.3	1.2	1.2	-1.2	
	Grade 11	Count	43	63	42	48	196
		Adjusted residual	-1.4	.8	-1.4	**2.2**	
Total			148	174	145	113	580

However, there was not significant relation between children's grade and the classified fathering styles from the fathers' reports. It showed that the children's grade had no significant effect on the classified fathering styles by fathers' reports.

Overall, the children's grade had not effect on responsiveness and demandingness from the perspectives of fathers and adolescents as well as the classified fathering styles by fathers' reports, but the classification authoritative and neglectful by children's report had significant relationships with children' grade.

4.4.2.5 Monthly household income

This section covers the relationships between the monthly family income and the demanding and responsive scores. 'One-way between subjects ANOVA' was conducted as the scores were numeric variables and the income was categorical variable. A question of '**is there a relation between the monthly family income and the demanding and responsive scores?'** was examined.

The 'chi-square test of independence' results indicated that there was not significant relation between the monthly family income and **the demanding and responsive scores** from the perspectives of fathers and adolescents.

This section outlines the relationships between the monthly family income and the classified fathering styles. 'Chi-square test of independence' was conducted as the income and the styles were categorical variables. The question of '**is there a correlation between the monthly family income and the classified fathering styles?'** were examined.

The 'chi-square test of independence' results indicated that there was not significant relationship between the monthly family income and **the classified fathering styles** from the reports of fathers and adolescents.

Overall, family income was not a significant indicator for the responsive and demanding scores and the classified fathering styles from the reports of fathers and adolescents. It showed that fathering behaviour was not related to family income.

4.4.3 Religiosity with fathering results from the reports of fathers and adolescents

Fathers were asked about their perceptions of their religiosity with the question, ‘how do you describe your religious affiliation?’ from 'not at all' to 'very much' with four categories. Only 43 fathers rated themselves with 'not at all' whereas more than 150 fathers indicated they had a religious affiliation of varying degrees. The highest frequency of perceptions of religiosity was 'moderate', 35%. Figure 11 shows the proportion of fathers reporting different degrees of religiosity.

Figure 11: *How religious fathers perceive themselves*

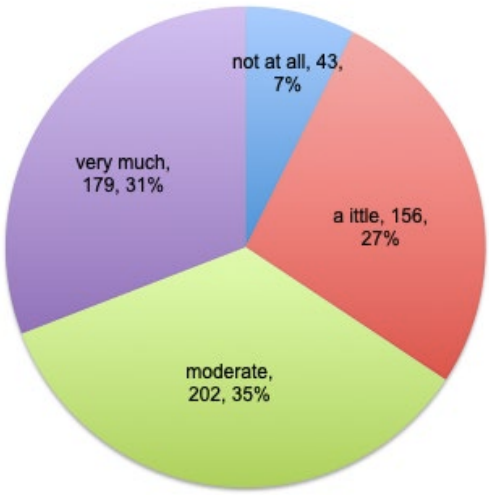
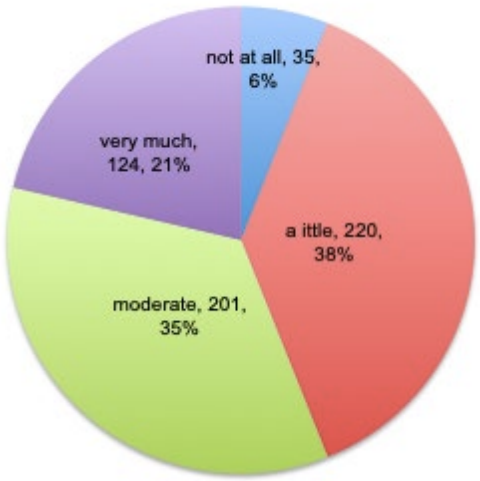


Figure 12: *How religious adolescent children perceive themselves*



Teenage children were asked about their perceptions of religiosity with the question, ‘how do you describe your religious affiliation?’ from 'not at all' to 'very much' using four categories. Only 35 children rated themselves as 'not at all' whereas more than 200 children ranked themselves as ‘a little’ and ‘moderate’. The highest frequency was the perceptions of religiosity 'a little', 38%. Figure 12 shows the proportion of children reporting different degrees of religiosity.

This section covers the relationships between the reported religiosity of fathers and the scores of demandingness and responsiveness so that a ‘one-way between subjects ANOVA’ was conducted. The question of ‘**is there a relation between the reported religiosity of fathers and the scores of demandingness and responsiveness?’** were examined in the following. Table 16 shows the results between the reported religiosity of fathers and the scores of demandingness and responsiveness.

A one-way between subjects ANOVA was conducted for the relationship between the fathers’ responsiveness scores and fathers’ perceptions of religiosity along a scale of ‘not at all’, ‘a little’, ‘moderate’ and ‘very much’. The analysis showed a significant relation of fathers’ responsive scores on

the perceived religiosity of fathers [F(3, 576)=7.16, p<.001]. A Post hoc test was conducted to compare groups different from each other. A Post Hoc LSD displayed that ‘not at all’ and ‘a little’; ‘not at all’ and ‘moderate’; ‘not at all’ and ‘very much’; ‘a little’ and ‘very much’; ‘moderate’ and ‘very much’ groups differed significantly at p<.001.

Table 16: *One-way between subjects ANOVA results between the reported religiosity of fathers and the scores of demandingness and responsiveness*

		Sum of squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Fathers’ responsiveness	Between Groups	711.55	3	237.18	7.612	**.000**
	Within Groups	17947.60	576	31.15		
Children’s responsiveness	Between Groups	300.51	3	100.17	1.56	.19
	Within Groups	36808.92	576	63.90		
Fathers’ demandingness	Between Groups	172.92	3	57.64	2.19	.11
	Within Groups	16641.24	576	28.89		
Children’s demandingness	Between Groups	77.49	3	25.83	.69	.55
	Within Groups	21503.33	576	37.33		

These results showed that responsiveness from the perspectives of fathers were significantly less the perceptions of religiosity ‘not at all’ than other religious categories.

However, there was not significant relationship between ‘children’s demanding and responsive scores and the perceived religiosity of their fathers’ and between ‘fathers’ demanding scores and their perceptions of religiosity’.

The next part of the analysis considers the relationships between perceived religiosity of children and the scores of demandingness and responsiveness so that a ‘one-way between subjects ANOVA’ was conducted. A question of ‘**is there a relation between the perceived religiosity of children and the scores of demandingness and responsiveness?’** were examined in the following. Table 17 shows the results of the relationship between the perceived religiosity of children and the scores of demandingness and responsiveness.

A subsequent one-way between subjects ANOVA was conducted to compare the effect of the fathers’ responsive scores on children’s perceptions of religiosity. There was a significant relationship between fathers’ responsive scores and fathers’ religiosity [$F(3, 576)=3.12$, $p<.05$]. An analysis of variance on these scores was run again to understand significant variation among conditions. A Post Hoc LSD displayed that ‘not at all’ and ‘a little’; ‘not at all’ and ‘moderate’; ‘not at all’ and ‘very much’ groups differed significantly at $p<.05$.

These results showed that fathers’ responsiveness was significantly less than children’s perceptions of their religiosity in relation to ‘not at all’ than other religious categories. This result also indicated that children’s religiosity affected fathers’ responsiveness.

Another one-way between subjects ANOVA was conducted to compare the effect of the children’s responsive scores on children’s perceptions of religiosity. There was a significant difference in of children’s responsive scores according to fathers’ religiosity [$F(3, 576)=1.56$, $p<.001$]. An analysis

of variance on these scores again was run to assess significant variation among conditions. A Post Hoc LSD displayed that 'not at all' and 'a little'; 'not at all' and 'moderate'; 'not at all' and 'very much'; 'a little' and 'very much' groups differed significantly at p<.001.

Table 17: *one-way between subjects ANOVA results between the perceived religiosity of children and the scores of demandingness and responsiveness*

		Sum of squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Fathers' responsiveness	Between Groups	298.75	3	99.58	3.12	**.02**
	Within Groups	18360.40	576	31.87		
Children's responsiveness	Between Groups	1130.32	3	376.77	6.03	**.000**
	Within Groups	35979.11	576	62.46		
Fathers' demandingness	Between Groups	31.19	3	10.40	.35	.78
	Within Groups	16782.96	576	29.13		
Children's demandingness	Between Groups	267.43	3	89.14	2.40	.06
	Within Groups	21313.39	576	37.00		

These results showed that responsiveness from the perspectives of children were significantly less than the perceptions of children's religiosity for 'not at all' in contrast with other religious categories. This result also indicated that the children's religiosity affected children's perceptions of responsiveness. In other words, the more religious an adolescent, the more they thought father was responsive.

However, there was not significant relationship between the perceived religiosity of children and demanding scores from the perspectives of fathers. It showed that the demandingness had not significant difference in the children's perceptions of religiosity.

This part also details relationships between perceived religiosity and the classified fathering styles from the reports of fathers and adolescents. 'Fisher's exact test' was conducted rather than 'chi-square test of independence' as the frequency of the cell was less than 5. A question of '**is there a relation between perceived religiosity and classified fathering styles?**' was examined in the following. Religiosity from the perspectives of fathers and children indicated 2 groups and classified fathering styles from the perspectives of fathers and children also indicated 2 groups. Therefore, this research question was investigated with 4 examinations regarding 'fathers' religiosity X classified fathering styles by fathers', 'children's religiosity X classified fathering styles by fathers', 'fathers' religiosity X classified fathering styles by children', and 'children's religiosity X classified fathering styles by children'.

A 'fisher exact test' was undertaken to examine the relationship between the classified fathering styles from fathers' reports and fathers' perceived religiosity. The relationship between these variables was significant ($p < .001$). Table 18 displays the cross-tabulation of the classified fathering styles by fathers' reports and the perceived religiosity of fathers.

Accordingly, significant contributions with their 'adjusted residual values' showed there were significant relationship between fathers' reports of their religiosity and their classified fathering styles. Specifically, the relation between 'not at all and authoritative', 'not at all and authoritarian', 'not at all and permissive', 'a little and neglectful', 'moderate and permissive', 'very much and permissive' and 'very much and neglectful' were significant.

Table 18: *Cross-tabulation between the classified fathering styles by fathers' reports and perceived religiosity of fathers*

			The classified fathering styles by fathers' reports				
			Authoritative	Authoritarian	Permissive	Neglectful	Total
The perceptions of religiosity degree by fathers	Not at all	Count	4	23	5	11	43
		Adjusted residual	**-3.3**	**4.8**	**-2.0**	.9	
	A little	Count	45	29	42	40	156
		Adjusted residual	-1.0	-1.7	.9	**2.0**	
	Moderate	Count	70	51	37	44	202
		Adjusted residual	1.0	.7	**-2.5**	.7	
	Very much	Count	67	33	57	22	179
		Adjusted residual	1.8	-1.9	**2.8**	**-3.2**	
Total			186	136	141	117	580

These results showed that the more religious the father, the more permissive and authoritative their reports' classifications were like to be; and the less religious the father, the more authoritarian and neglectful their reports' classifications were likely to be.

Another 'Fisher exact test' was run to examine the relationship between the classified fathering style from fathers' reports and children's perceived religiosity. The relationship between these variables was significant ($p < .05$). Table 19 shows the cross-tabulation of the classified fathering styles by fathers' reports and the perceived religiosity of children.

Relating significant contributions with their 'adjusted residual values' showed that there were significant relationships between children perceptions of religiosity and the classified fathering styles by fathers' reports. Specifically, the relationship between 'very much' and permissive was significant.

Table 19: *Cross-tabulation between the classified fathering styles by fathers' reports and perceived religiosity of children*

			The classified fathering styles by fathers' reports				
			Authoritative	Authoritarian	Permissive	Neglectful	Total
The perceptions of religiosity degree by children	Not at all	Count	8	12	4	11	35
		Adjusted residual	-1.2	1.6	-1.8	1.7	
	A little	Count	76	49	45	50	220
		Adjusted residual	1.0	-.5	-1.7	1.2	
	Moderate	Count	65	52	50	34	201
		Adjusted residual	.1	1.0	.2	-1.4	
	Very much	Count	37	23	42	22	124
		Adjusted residual	-.6	-1.5	**2.8**	-.8	
Total			186	136	141	117	580

This result showed that permissive parenting from fathers' reports had a significant relationship with religiosity when children's perceptions of their religiosity were 'very much'.

A 'Fisher exact test' was run to examine the relationship between the classified fathering styles from children's reports and children's perceived religiosity. The relationship between these variables was significant ($p < .001$). Table 20 illustrates the cross-tabulation between the classified fathering styles by fathers' reports and the perceived religiosity of children.

Relating significant contributions with their 'adjusted residual values' showed that there were significant relationships between children perceptions of their own religiosity and the classified fathering styles by children's reports. Specifically, the relationship between 'not at all and authoritative', 'not at all and authoritarian', 'not at all and neglectful', 'a little and authoritarian', 'moderate and authoritative', 'moderate and authoritarian', 'very much and permissive' and 'very much and neglectful' were significant.

Table 20: *Cross-tabulation between the classified fathering styles by children's reports and perceived religiosity of children*

			The classified fathering styles by children's reports				
			Authoritative	Authoritarian	Permissive	Neglectful	Total
The perceptions of religiosity degree by children	Not at all	Count	2	16	5	12	35
		Adjusted residual	**-2.8**	**2.1**	-1.5	**2.3**	
	A little	Count	50	77	51	42	220
		Adjusted residual	-1.2	**2.1**	-.8	-.2	
	Moderate	Count	67	44	45	45	201
		Adjusted residual	**3.1**	**-3.1**	-1.1	1.3	
	Very much	Count	29	37	44	14	124
		Adjusted residual	-.6	.0	**3.0**	**-2.6**	
Total			148	174	145	113	580

These results showed that the more religious the child, the more permissive and authoritative their reports' classifications were likely to be; and the less religious the child, the more authoritarian and neglectful their reports' classifications were likely to be.

However, there was not significant relationship between the perceived religiosity of fathers and the classified fathering styles from the children's reports. It showed that the classified fathering styles by children's reports had no significant difference in relation to fathers' perceptions of religiosity.

Overall, responsive scores from both the perspectives of fathers and adolescents were significantly higher when they indicated higher perceptions of religiosity, but demanding scores were not related to the religiosity. According to both reports of fathers and children, higher religiosity was significantly related to authoritative and permissive parenting styles whereas lower religiosity was significantly related to authoritarian and neglectful parenting styles.

Table 21: Correlations among all variables

	Fathers' Responsiveness Scores	Children's Responsiveness Scores	Fathers' Demandingness Scores	Children's Demandingness Scores	Fathering styles by fathers' reports	Fathering styles by children's reports	Children's gender	Fathers' age	Children's age	Children's grade	Fathers' religiosity	Children's religiosity	Fathers' educational level	Family income
Fathers' Responsiveness Scores	-	p<.001	-	-	-	-	p<.05	ns.	ns.	ns.	p<.001	ns.	ns.	ns.
Children's Responsiveness Scores	p<.001	-	-	-	-	-	ns.	ns.	ns.	ns.	ns.	p<.001	ns.	ns.
Fathers' Demandingness Scores	-	-	-	p<.01	-	-	ns.	ns.	ns.	ns.	ns.	ns.	p<.05	ns.
Children's Demandingness Scores	-	-	p<.01	-	-	-	p<.05	p<.05	ns.	ns.	ns.	ns.	ns.	ns.
Fathering styles by fathers' reports	-	-	-	-	-	p<.01	ns.	ns.	ns.	ns.	p<.001	ns.	ns.	ns.
Fathering styles by children's reports	-	-	-	-	p<.01	-	p<.01	ns.	ns.	p<.05	ns.	p<.001	ns.	ns.
Children's gender	p<.05	ns.	ns.	p<.05	ns.	p<.01	-	ns.	ns.	ns.	ns.	ns.	ns.	ns.
Fathers' age	ns.	ns.	ns.	p<.05	ns.	ns.	ns.	-	ns.	ns.	ns.	ns.	ns.	ns.
Children's age	ns.	ns.	ns.	ns.	ns.	ns.	ns.	ns.	-	ns.	ns.	ns.	ns.	ns.
Children's grade	ns.	ns.	ns.	ns.	ns.	p<.05	ns.	ns.	ns.	-	ns.	ns.	ns.	ns.
Fathers' religiosity	p<.001	ns.	ns.	ns.	p<.001	ns.	ns.	ns.	ns.	ns.	-	ns.	ns.	ns.
Children's religiosity	ns.	p<.001	ns.	ns.	ns.	p<.001	ns.	ns.	ns.	ns.	ns.	-	ns.	ns.
Fathers' educational level	ns.	ns.	p<.05	ns.	ns.	ns.	-	-	-	-	ns.	ns.	-	-
Family income	ns.	ns.	ns.	ns.	ns.	ns.	-	-	-	-	ns.	ns.	-	-

*p value shows that there was a significant relationship between two variables.
**ns indicates that there was no significant relationship between two variables.
***'-' symbol demonstrates that this study did not examine any relationship between two variables.

Table 21 illustrates correlations among all variables in this study. ‘p<.001’, ‘p<.01’ and ‘p<.05’ signs indicate that there was a significant relationship between matched cell, which covers two variables. ‘ns.’ abbreviation demonstrates that there was not any significant relationship between two variables. The ‘-‘ symbol shows that this study did not examine relationship between matched cell, which includes two variables.

So far, the statistical outcomes of the fathering have been presented. Fathering dimensions of the responsiveness and demandingness and the classified fathering styles did not differ significantly in terms of children’s age and monthly household income. Adolescents perceived their fathers as demonstrating more demandingness as their fathers’ aged, but the fathers were perceived as less demanding when their education levels increased. The classified authoritative parenting style by the children’ reports was more visible in the first year of high school whereas the parenting style classified as neglectful by the children’s reports was more visible in the third year of high school. The fathers and adolescents perceived higher responsiveness when they rated higher degree of religiosity. The higher rate of religiosity was also related to the permissive and authoritative parenting by the reports of fathers and adolescents, but the authoritarian and neglectful parenting by the reports of fathers and adolescents was likely to be associated with the lower degree of religiosity. The fathers perceived themselves as more responsiveness and demandingness than their children. Half of the father-child pairs fathering styles matched, but the authoritative style was more noticeable in the results of the fathers’ reports whereas the authoritarian style was more frequent in the results of the children’s reports. The fathers had more responsiveness scores for their daughters than sons, and the boys had higher demandingness scores than the girls. The authoritarian style according to the children’s reports was more visible for the boys whereas the permissive style in the children’s reports was more visible for the girls.

4.5 Summary

There appears to be a consensus that the main ingredient of Turkish fathering was high control, however the level of warmth and closeness to this differed between the groups. Adolescents perceived younger fathers as less demanding. The authoritative style was more visible in the results of fathers' reports whereas the authoritarian style was more visible in the results of children's reports.

In terms of gender, boys' reports indicated that they perceived more control than girls; fathers behaved more responsively towards their daughters than their sons. Consequently, boys' reports mainly classified their fathers as authoritarian whereas girls' reports mostly grouped their fathers as permissive.

Finally, in relation to religiosity, a child's greater observance of religion and religiousness appears to produce increased father involvement.

4.6 Discussion

In fathers' reports, the largest category of parenting styles was that of 'authoritative', with more than a quarter of the fathers perceiving themselves as demonstrating this style. However, more than a quarter of the children's reports classified their fathers as authoritarian. There was agreement in the reports of fathers and adolescents that the least demonstrated of their fathers' parenting behaviour was neglectful. Fathers perceived a greater demandingness and responsiveness than children. This discussion covers the emergent agreements and differences in fathering styles as conveyed in the questionnaire responses on fathering in Turkey and fathering styles elsewhere.

Father-adolescent pairs

Fathers and adolescents evaluated the same behaviour from different positions such that fathers were in a practitioner position whereas adolescents were in a receipt position. Thus, it is beneficial to consider ‘fathering’ with the reports from fathers and adolescents in terms of similarities and differences among the father-adolescent pairs.

More than half of the father-child pairs in the present study had agreement about the classified fathering styles with almost similar percentage of total proportions, but Smetana (1995) reported that American fathers and adolescent children had a higher percentage of agreement on authoritarian fathering than other parenting styles. The results showed that Turkish fathers and adolescents had more consensus in fathering descriptions from American pairs. This difference might indicate that Turkish adolescents understood their fathers more than the American, but, in consideration of the data collection time, where father-adolescent pairs are more aware of the fathers' behaviour nowadays.

The current study and Smetana (1995) found that adolescent children’s reports classified their fathers as more authoritarian and less authoritative than fathers. The present and Paulson and Sputa (1996) studies also found that fathers had significantly higher perceptions of ‘responsiveness’ and the ‘demandingness’ than children perceived. The results showed that fathers described their behaviour as more involving and respecting of autonomy than did adolescents. The different views of fathering behaviour might explain the reason for conflicts between fathers and adolescents, but the conflicts might also be a reason for the different perceptions.

It could be suggested that this study has confirmed that adolescents were more consciousness of their fathers' behaviour, and fathers perceived themselves as less patriarchal and more modern than did adolescents.

Comparison with Fathering styles in Turkey

There have been a number of studies on Turkish fathering from the perspectives of children and young people. The studies on fathering styles in Turkey cover a variety of age groups, with some retrospective (e.g. involving students' recollections of their fathers' behaviour). Yilmazer's study (2009) is one of the few that sought the views of children. Yilmazer found authoritative fathering to be reported as dominant, whereas in this study the most dominant fathering style was authoritarian. Furthermore, permissive fathering was the least dominant in Yilmazer (2009) whereas this study shows the least dominant fathering style as neglectful. Consequently, both studies' results are not in concordance with each other. This difference might be related to different measures for paternal parenting that Yilmazer (2009) employed, that is, 'the parenting style measure', which was developed by Lamborn *et al*. (1991), whereas the present study applied 'the MCRS', developed by Sumer and Gungor (1999).

Among the studies that sought retrospective views, there were greater similarities between the current study and that of Sumer and Gungor (1999), in which authoritarian fathering was found to be the most dominant style. The finding of neglectful fathering as the least dominant style is shared by this study and that of Sumer and Gungor. However, in the current study permissive and authoritative fathering had almost similar proportions whereas there were different proportions between permissive and authoritative fathering in Sumer and Gungor. There is the same hierarchal order for authoritarian and neglectful fathering between the current study and Gungor and Sumer. However, in other studies (Ulukaya 2011; Demirli 2013), which engaged with undergraduate students, permissive fathering was the most dominant proportion whereas authoritarian fathering was the second dominant. The current study has not concordance with these studies because their participants were older.

This assessment of similar studies suggests that this study has shown that there was no consensus on Turkish fathering styles due to either the different measurement methods for fathering styles or the different age groups of participants.

Comparison with Global Fathering styles

The current and Smetana (1995) studies found that fathers' reports were mostly classified as 'authoritative', but, in Smetana's work, the behaviour of American fathers tended to be perceived as more 'authoritarian'. It showed that 'authoritative' fathering from the reports of fathers was still more dominant, but 'authoritarian' behaviour faded away.

There were opposite results from the perspectives of adolescent children between the current study and Di Maggio and Zappula (2014) whereby neglectful fathering was the most dominant parenting among Italian children whereas neglectful fathering was the least dominant parenting proportion among Turkish children. Furthermore, authoritarian fathering was the least dominant parenting in Di Maggio and Zappula (2014) whereas authoritarian fathering was the most dominant parenting in the current study. These different national studies show that Italian and Turkish adolescent have contrary perceptions of their fathers' parenting.

On the other hand, there was the same hierarchal order of classified fathering styles from the reports of adolescent children between the current study and Fletcher *et al*. (1999), but also the percentage of the fathering style results were very similar. It showed that Turkish adolescents had similar fathering perceptions to American adolescents in Fletcher *et al*.'s study. The current study is also in concordance about the perceptions of 'authoritarian' fathering with other American adolescents in Berge *et al*.'s (2010) study. However, 'authoritative' fathering was more dominant in American adolescents (Bronte-Tinkew *et al*. 2006; Mileysky *et al*. 2007; Mileysky *et al*. 2008; Bolkan *et al*. 2011) and Dutch adolescents (Hoove *et al*. 2011)

whereas ‘permissive’ fathering perceptions were more dominant in American adolescents in Smetana (1995). These results indicate that there is not consistency in fathering style perceptions of adolescents in the same or different societies. These divergences might relate to the measurement processes of fathering styles, adolescents' age group, culture, sub-culture as well as fathers' socio-economic and educational level.

It might be concluded that this study has shown that fathering has similar and different features around the world, but there is not particular fathering style due to various circumstances for fathers and the fatherhood.

What follows are the themes from the remaining six significant points that have emerged from the data. These are the father-adolescent pairs, gender, religiosity, adolescents’ age and grade, fathers’ educational level and income.

Gender

The father-child relation is an umbrella to cover the father-son and father-daughter dyads, so it is vital to analyse gender in the father-child relationship. Fathering was differed in terms of gender and demandingness, responsiveness and fathering styles.

The current study found that there was significant relationship between gender and the classified fathering styles reported by adolescents' reports; permissive fathering was most common among girls whereas authoritarian fathering was the most common among boys. This result was reversed in other studies; Berge *et al*. (2010) reported that authoritarian fathering was more frequent among American girls than boys whereas Raboteg-Saric and Saric (2014) found that permissive fathering was more common among Croatian boys than girls. It showed that, from the perspectives of gender, Turkish adolescents had clashing fathering perceptions of authoritarian and permissive styles when contrasted against American and Croation

adolescents. These contrasting perceptions might highlight how gender reveals adolescents' different perspectives on fathering styles, but the effect of gender is still visible in fathering.

There was also not significant relation between gender and fathering styles by fathers' reports in the current study, but authoritarian fathering had more frequency for their sons whereas perceived permissive fathering had more frequency for their daughters. Consequently, fathers and adolescent in the current study evidences how 'permissive' and 'authoritarian' fathering styles were related to gender. It also indicated that showing love and control were related to gender.

The present and Finkenauer *et al*. (2005) studies found that 'responsiveness' was significantly higher for daughters than sons. However, significantly the girls did not perceive more or less responsiveness than boys in the current study. Yilmazer (2009) also reported that there was not relationship between gender and responsiveness from the perspectives of Turkish adolescents. These contrasts indicate that there was a gender issue on the father's side with regards to responsiveness, but not on the adolescent side. There might also be a suggestion that fathers applied a form of affirmative action for their daughters in that fathers approached their daughters with more understanding, attachment, care, concern and intimacy than their sons.

'Demandingness' was significantly higher for boys than girls in the present study, but fathers significantly did not perceive different demandingness to their sons and daughters. Thus, adolescent boys perceived more control and supervision from their fathers' behaviour than girls, but the fathers' reports indicated that they treated their adolescents in the same way in term of monitoring regardless of a child's gender. This difference indicated that there was a gender issue on the adolescent side about demandingness, but not on the father side. There might also be an indication that adolescent boys and girls assigned different meanings to the fathers' controlling behaviour. The

different perceptions might also be interpreted as different desires about liberty and freedom.

Yilmazer (2009) found the opposite result of demandingness from adolescents' perspectives such that Turkish adolescent girls perceived their fathers' behaviour as more ‘demanding’ than boys. This reverse difference indicated that ‘demandingness’ was related to gender from the perspectives of adolescents.

Demandingness is related to expectations of obedient behaviour whereas responsiveness is related to closeness. Boys perceived higher demandingness than girls, and fathers expressed more responsiveness for their daughters. These perceptions might indicate that girls were more obedient than boys so that fathers were closer to their daughters than sons. There might be another indication that adolescent boys perceived more rules than girls as the fathers made more boundaries and distanced themselves from their sons.

It could then be suggested that this study has confirmed that ‘permissive’ and ‘authoritarian’ fathering styles differed in gender, from the perspectives of fathers and adolescents, and fathers had the closer relationship with their daughters whereas adolescent boys perceived more control from their fathers’ behaviour.

Religiosity

Religious belief may also influence people’s relationships, so it was necessary to investigate the association between religiosity and the father-child relationship in terms of closeness and involvement.

The relationship between the perceptions of fathers' religiosity and ‘responsiveness’ was significant in the present study, but the fathers' religiosity did not differ significantly in relation to adolescent's perceptions of

‘responsiveness’. Consequently, the results showed fathers' religiosity increased father-involvement from the perspectives of fathers. Islam encourages parents to be a role model for their children by being friendly, respectable and kind so that religious fathers might have a warm and close relationship with their adolescents. However, adolescents did not link closeness and their fathers' religiosity as the adolescents were only responsible for their own religiosity.

The adolescents' perceptions of their religiosity differed significantly in relation to the ‘responsiveness’ from the perspectives of fathers and adolescents in the current study. This result is in concordance with Arslan (2006) and Uysal (2016) studies in Turkey. The consistent results show that the adolescents' religiosity increased father-involvement. The parental responsibility in Islam makes children religious. Consequently, fathers might have warmer and closer relationship with adolescents as the adolescents met the fathers' religious expectation by becoming religious. Moreover, there is not parental force in Islam to become religious. Thus, adolescents might perceive more acceptance and autonomy from their fathers as they were independent to practice their religious duties.

Religiosity from the perspectives of fathers and adolescents did not significantly differ in perceptions of ‘demandingness’ from the perspectives of fathers and adolescents. This result is in concordance with Arslan’s (2006) study in Turkey. The consistent results show that the perceptions of religiosity had not considerable effect on monitoring. Islam underlines religious freedom and autonomy so that there might be a negative correlation between religiosity and ‘demandingness’. However, fathers employed control over adolescents in regardless of becoming religious.

In the current study, the authoritative and permissive parenting style from both reports of fathers and adolescents were related to perceptions of greater religiosity whereas the authoritarian and neglectful from both reports

of fathers and adolescents were related to perceptions of less religiosity. These results were also supported by Pehlivan (2002) study that Turkish adolescents perceived higher religiosity when their fathers were authoritative, and their perception of religiosity was lowest when their fathers were neglectful. It showed that religious fathers was involved with their children more.

It could then be suggested that this study has revealed that religiosity accelerated the involvement and closeness in the father-adolescent relationship, but paternal monitoring was not related to the religious perceptions of fathers or adolescents.

Adolescents' age and grade at school

Children's development stages affect the various features of their relationships with others. These differences may be seen in the same development stage regarding adolescence. Therefore, it is essential to examine children's age and grade in the father-child relationship.

Adolescents' age and grade at school in the present study had not significant relationship with the 'demandingness' from the perspectives of fathers and adolescent children. The demandingness average scores from the perspectives of fathers and adolescents decreased when the age and grade increased, but the results were not significant. Since adolescents were older, Bronte-Tinkew *et al*. (2006) reported that adolescent children perceived less paternal monitoring than their fathers did whereas Paulson and Sputa (1995) found that fathers perceived themselves as less 'demanding' than adolescents. These results might indicate that adolescents felt more autonomy when they were older. Consequently, the perceptions of the 'demandingness' appeared less as children become adolescent.

Adolescents' age and grade in the current study had not significant relation with 'responsiveness' from the perspectives of fathers and adolescent

children. The ‘responsiveness’ average scores from the perspectives of fathers and adolescents declined when the age and grade increased, but the results were not significant. As adolescents were older, not only did the adolescents' perceptions of ‘responsiveness’ decrease (Paulson and Sputa, 1995; Altinoglu-Dikmeer, 2009) but also the fathers' perceptions of ‘responsiveness’ decreased (Paulson & Sputa, 1995; Finkenauer *et al*., 2005). Adolescents tend to spend more time with their friends rather than their parents (Fursenburg 2000). The drop in spending time might be related to the relationship of decreasing ‘responsiveness’ in the later years of adolescence. Consequently, warmth and closeness decreased in the father-adolescent relationship when adolescents became older.

Adolescents’ grade in the current study significantly indicated authoritative and neglectful styles in their reports. The authoritative style was more dominant in the first year of high school whereas the neglectful style was becoming more dominant in the later years. This change indicated that adolescents perceived less responsiveness from their fathers’ behaviour when they moved on the next grade. It might not be related to a decrease in the quality of father-child relations and instead of the onset of more educational burdens and responsibilities regarding exams and homework.

The results of adolescents’ age and grade and fathering styles were not in concordance. The results might be different as children had a variety of ages in each grade. It might also indicate that grade in school was perceived as an indication of maturity rather than the age.

It could then be suggested that this study indicates that closeness and control in father-adolescent relationships diminishes in the later years of adolescence.

Fathers' educational level

Educational degrees are constructed to prepare people for various academic and non-academic fields, but a degree-level education may also influence people's behaviour. Therefore, it is vital to analyse whether or not the fathers' educational levels affect the father-child relationship.

Fathers' educational level in the present study has significant in relation to 'demandingness' from the perspectives of fathers, but not from the perspectives of adolescent children. This result is supported by adolescents in Yilmazer's (2009) study. The consistent results show that monitoring behaviour from the perspectives of adolescents was not related to fathers' educational level. However, fathers in the current study were more demanding when their educational level was lower, especially in groups of fathers who were only educated to 'primary' and 'high' school levels. It showed that educational levels might increase fathers' awareness of their children, but this awareness did not stop fathers' control over their adolescent.

Fathers' educational level in the present study had no significant relationship with 'responsiveness' from the perspectives of fathers and adolescents, but this result was not concordant with adolescents in Yilmazer's (2009) study. The inconsistent results might show that adolescent perceptions of responsiveness were affected by fathers' educational level, but social media, friends as well as technological developments also increased fathers' awareness about raising a child regarding warmth and closeness. Consequently, the modern world provided more opportunities for fathers to increase their awareness of their children, but awareness was not just about the education.

Overall, control was sustainable either with or without awareness of child-rearing, but warmth and closeness appeared with awareness, which was not only related to the level of education.

Income

Income is an economic indicator, and its levels affect the attainment of the monetary resources. Some children's needs are related to financial requirements, so it is essential to examine whether or not fathers' monthly income influences the father-child relationship.

There was not significant relationship between family monthly income and perceptions of ‘demandingness’ from the perspectives of fathers and adolescents in the current study. This result is supported by adolescents in Yilmazer (2009). The consistency showed that monitoring was not related to socio-economic level. Consequently, levels of welfare did not change the fathers' control and supervision to their children.

There was not significant relationship between family monthly income and perceptions of ‘responsiveness’ from the perspectives of fathers and adolescents in the current study, but this result is not concordant with adolescents in the Yilmazer (2009) study. The inconsistent results might show that income and father-involvement were a spiral position on the father-adolescent relationship. The socio-economic level might also be related to providing more of children's economic needs such as phones and laptops, and spending more time together in activities like eating out, going to the cinema and travel. Consequently, adolescents might perceive more involvement and closeness from their fathers' behaviour when socio-economic levels increased, but the current study's results did not confirm this.

Overall, income might influence welfare and involvement activities, but the father-adolescent relationship was based on interaction, so monetary resources had no considerable effect on fathers' behaviour.

In conclusion, the responses from both fathers and adolescents suggest that there are some differences over expectations, and some differential treatment of boys and girls, and a shared religiosity helps smooth communication and foster emotional bonds. With the variety of conditions, closeness is alterable, but control is a stable feature in the father-adolescent relationship. Consequently, this study is a milestone in research on Turkish fathering. Comparisons of the current study findings and the little research on fathering elsewhere have shown that the fatherhood has its own particular dynamics so that there is a widespread variance in fathering styles around the world. Why is this? Assessment measures and culture, as well as the absence of more detailed investigation of fathering, could be clues. Therefore, there is a need to have further investigations to understand Turkish fathering better. The next chapter analyses fathering using the qualitative data collected.

Chapter 5 The interview results; Fathering from the perspectives of fathers and adolescent children

This chapter independently analyses the interviews of fathers and adolescents via the thematic analysis. Their results are reviewed separately and together with other fathering studies over the world as well as in Turkey.

5.1 Fathering: The Fathers' Perspectives

This section aims to explore 'fathering' from fathers' views of their relationships with their adolescent children through a thematic analysis of the interviews of fathers. This part contributes to the literature on 'fathering' and 'fatherhood' via the research questions, 'what do Turkish fathers do when they parent their adolescents?'.

The process of the thematic analysis for fathers' interviews is described and themes which emerged from the raw data of fathers' views are then presented alongside fathers' reports.

5.1.1 Method and Analysis

Both qualitative and quantitative research are interested in participants' perspectives and actions, but qualitative research engages with the meaning of behaviours whereas quantitative research focuses on behaviours even if not entirely supported (Brannen 2007). There is a need to understand fathering with behaviour and meaning from participants' perspectives so that this study has employed a mixed method approach.

The main aim of quantitative research is to examine theories by a deductive approach while the principal purpose of qualitative research is to understand participants' behaviour by an inductive approach, so the use of both methods can apply for logical forms to analyse data (Padgett 2008; Rubin & Babbie

2008; Brannen2007). Thus, this study aimed to use deductive **and** inductive approaches to consider fathering in relation to theory and behaviour – a mixed method accommodates this. For example, employing questionnaires about demographic variables and fathering styles provided a brief classification of fathering styles and their relationships with the variables, and these outcomes shed light on understanding in-depth-interviews better by a deductive approach. In turn, in-depth interviews gave particular knowledge about Turkish fathering, and this knowledge explained the questionnaire results better by an inductive approach.

Samples in quantitative research can be representative of the population as it reaches a larger sample size via random sampling procedures. Because of the sample size, quantitative research can generalise its outcomes (Creswell 2008; Rubin & Babbie 2008). Samples in qualitative research cover smaller sizes than quantitative research, but its investigation provides an opportunity to reach deeper more insightful conclusions (Creswell 2008).

Each method notifies and reinforces each other in mixed method research so that it is called 'methodological triangulation' (Mason 2002). Thus, a mixed method design enables a ‘deeper’ understanding of considered arguments (Barker et al. 2002). Mainly, the mixed method offers an understanding of fathering with more profound conclusions.

The primary aim of the mixed method in this research is a complementarity, which enhances and clarifies the results of the research with different aspects of the same phenomena. This research is designed as a concurrent strategy, in which qualitative and quantitative data are collected in the same period. The qualitative approach focuses on participants' perspectives and experience on fathering through the interview and thematic analysis whereas the quantitative strategy concentrates participants' ratings of fathers' behaviour and parenting styles via questionnaires and statistical tests.

Employing a mixed method offered a better understanding of Turkish fathers' parenting as applying both inductive and deductive approaches allow reaching objective and valid conclusions. In the following, thematic analysis is explained in a way of exploring the qualitative data.

Thematic analysis of the interviews of 18 fathers, whose age ranged from 35 to 60 years, was employed as a way of foregrounding the dominant themes to consider the implications of these perspectives.

Thematic analysis classifies and identifies themes with detailed descriptions in the dataset (Braun & Clarke 2006). This process indicates which patterns are meaningful in the data (Daly *et al*. 1997). Patterns were clustered and composed the main themes from the raw data to convey fathers' perspectives on fathering and fatherhood with their adolescent children. Particularly, the 'inductive' approach used to explore fathering demonstrating dominant and substantial themes from the raw data of fathers' interviews.

Before starting to compose themes, the whole data set was read to build a fuller fathering picture in the raw data, which included fathers' response to questions about 'what do you think about fathering?' and 'how do you do parenting'.

It was clear from their responses that they mainly described their fathering behaviour as having three dimensions:

- What are they doing?
- How do they do it?
- Why do they say, they do it?

The transcriptions were again read to generate an initial list of possible themes related to fathering with these three questions.

After initial themes were generated, there was a closer examination whether each theme's descriptions combine to form overarching themes and then indicate whether there were any sub-themes. This process supported a systematic approach to the analysis. However, the investigation was not a linear process that neatly moves from one stage to the next. To be sure robustness, the whole collated extracts for each theme were reviewed again to examine whether the sub-themes were consistent with the main themes. Consequently, five themes emerged from the raw data from the fathers' interviews:

- 'overseeing'
- 'influencing'
- 'adjusting rules and boundaries'
- 'problem-solving'
- 'socialising'

Table 21: *Themes with their frequencies and percentage* in the interviews of fathers

Themes	**18 Father interviews**	
	Frequency	Percentage
Overseeing	76	32%
Influencing	70	28%
Adjusting rules and boundaries	45	18%
Problem-solving	30	12%
Socialising	25	10%
Total	246	100%

'Overseeing' indicated 'checking' their children; 'influencing' pointed out 'changing' their children's behaviour; 'adjusting rules and boundaries' reflected 'communicating' with their children; 'problem-solving' represented

‘helping’ their children and ‘socialising’ inferred ‘spending’ time with their children.

The frequency fathers mentioned these themes were counted. Table 21 shows these themes with their frequencies and percentage.

As indicated in table 21, fathers mostly reported ‘overseeing’ and ‘influencing’ whereas they least mentioned ‘problem-solving’ and ‘socialising’.

What follows is an expansion on themes illustrated by examples from interviews of fathers. It is important to note in advance that these themes indicate behaviour so that the **themes are not a person**, i.e., there is no full person that is an ‘overseer’ father.

5.1.2 Emergent Types

This section considers the analysed 18 father interviews and expands on the five themes through detailed descriptions with extracts from the interviews.

5.1.2.1 ‘Overseeing’

Fathers described overseeing their children by directly or indirectly checking on their children, sometimes individually, but at other times they kept their children under surveillance with other people’s support.

Fathers reported that they controlled their children’s behaviour as they perceived themselves a legal inspector, who is responsible for critical observation and examination of what their children do. They checked their children’s behaviour at home and outside, and they sometimes did this in secret ways, sometimes directly. They believed that they have a right to check their children’s actions even if this checking happens secretly or this behaviour might be invading their private life.

They also talked about controlling their children's behaviour with other people's help, not inspecting their children directly. Fathers reported using two approaches to get information about their children from other people: one was to ask for information such as 'what do you know …' while the other was to wait for other people's comments on their children's negative behaviour.

This critical statement 'overseeing' behaviour was related to 'to check' and 'to control', which were words used to describe their actions. Fathers justified 'overseeing' as they worried about their children's lives and wanted to protect their children from any potential hazard both in and outside the home.

Fathers reported that they wanted to know what their children did on the Internet, so they checked their children's laptop or PC by investigating Internet browsing data history. However, this investigation usually was secret until they found inappropriate sexual content in the Internet history. One father said that

> *I secretly checked the laptop's account and saw that he accessed not an acceptable webpage. Then I talked to him about it because I do not want him to engage with inappropriate sexual content (Father-AhC, age 53).*

In this and similar cases, fathers also mentioned they would not say anything to their children if they regarded the history as appropriate. The disclosure of the fathers' investigations depended on the investigation results.

Some of fathers reported that they could not find any Internet history on the laptop as their children cleared the account. So, they found two ways to check what their children were doing. The first way was to request that their children always kept the door of their bedroom open so that fathers could see their children's actions. However, this did not work for all children as some their children closed the room door. Other fathers employed a second way to see what their children did in the room; they visited their children room as if they needed to get some things from the room.

> *He always cleans his Internet history so that I cannot find any clue about what he does on the Internet. He also closes his room door, but I want to know what he is doing there. I sometimes go to his room and take some things from his room to check whether he is doing right things there because I want to protect him if something is wrong (Father-Aak, age 48)*

In the case above and similar cases, this action, on the part of fathers, might be regarded as a failure of 'overseeing' their children's behaviour as their children prevented them from investigating. It could also be said that fathers attempted to oversee their children, but they were not always successful due to adolescents' resistant.

Fathers' overseeing was also effected by another technological challenge was smartphones. They reported that they wanted to know about their children's communication with other people; and so they checked messages, call and Internet history on the phone. There were three different ways to fathers to check the phone. The first approach was to review the telephone directly, for example, a father requested his daughter's phone for looking into messages and calling history. In that case, the father's action was not secret, and his adolescent child knew when the father checked the phone. The father said that

> *I regularly take her phone and look at her messages and calling history as I worry about her life and do not want her to do something wrong (Father-FiT, age 46)*

The second approach was to check the phone secretly as fathers knew the phone pin code. They did not necessarily say anything to their children although they saw something on the phone. Adolescent children did not know when the fathers reviewed the phone, but fathers revealed when they saw inappropriate contents on the laptop. This different approach appeared to be related to privacy issues, given the laptop might belong to everyone at home whereas the phone belonged to just a person, so fathers did not reveal their checking on the phone. Furthermore, no father mentioned that they requested their children give them the phone pin after their children changed

it. This behaviour was also an indicator that they perceived the phone as a personal item.

The final approach was to look at the phone screen when children received or wrote messages. One father said that

> *I do not check his phone indirectly, but I can see his words on his phone screen when he got messages or write notes. I do it because I want to intervene in his life if something is wrong (Father-*MtY, age 42*).*

These fathers were aware that checking phone in direct and secret ways was an ethical dilemma in relation to interfering in their children's private lives, but they justified their actions, indicating that they worried about their children's lives and attempted to protect them from any potential hazards.

Some fathers also checked their children's music lists and books to see if these were suitable. One father said that

> *I test whether her books and music list are ideal for her, especially as age group and our family values. I do not allow her to read a book or listen to music if they are unsuitable because I worry about her development (Father-Ors, age 43)*

Fathers checked all their children's activities, no matter private or public, but aimed not to show children their investigations as they did not want their children to prevent future checking.

They also interfered with their children's privacy as they wanted to know what happened in their children lives. They justified that this intervention was based on worrying and protecting their children.

Fathers described checking up on technological devices, which their children used at home, so the use of technology was key overseeing activity of children's behaviour at home. Fathers' checking behaviour related to their children's activities outside of home was also evident.

Fathers reported that they requested their children inform them about their activities outside including ‘what/why/how/when they do?’, ‘whom they do with?’ and what time they would return?’ because fathers wanted to check whether their children would be in safe place. After providing these details, fathers gave or refused permission to go out. They also wanted to check whether their children provided the right information as they were sometimes suspicious. One father stated that

> *I said that I could drop her at the course, but she rejected it. I started to worry about her. So I secretly followed her from home to the class and waited outside until she came out. I also followed her from the course too, but I never showed her myself. Finally, I was relaxed as there was nothing wrong in her life (Father-FiT, age 46)*

In that case, the father never revealed the followed his pursuit of his daughter, but in other cases, some fathers disclosed that they showed themselves to their children due to showing their children their control. One father said that

> *I never follow her, but I go to her meeting place with her friends to check whether she is there or not. I also showed myself to her as if I have some duties in that place. I do it because I worry about her safety and want to say she is indirectly under my control (Father-OnT).*

Fathers also mentioned that they checked whether their children gave the correct information related to children’s activities outside, after giving permission to go out. One father said that

> *I allowed him to go to a football match with his friends. When he was back, I asked him about the match score, players and other things to check whether he was there or not (Father-Aak, age 48).*

In the cases above and in similar cases where fathers did not trust their children with regards to outside activities; they kept checking whether their children gave accurate information to make a point about the consequences for future outside activities if they lied.

Fathers also indicated that they rejected their children’s requests about going out due to inconvenient times and people they did not approve of. They

worried about their children's safety when they went out at night. One father said that

> *I do not allow him to go out in the evening as bad people appear outside. So I am worried about his safety when he is out (*Father-NtF, age 46*)*

Given their actions, fathers might be classified as a detective as some of fathers followed their children or some of them asked their children questions about their outside activities.

Fathers were aware that their children spent time outside with friends. Fathers also reported that they had assessment criteria for people, who were around their children so that they checked their children's friends. Most of the fathers knew general information children's friends with about their such as name, school, class and age, but some fathers met their children's friends to get more detailed information including education expectations, smoking, fighting and decent behaviour. Furthermore, some of them knew their children's friends' parents because not only they needed to contact the parents but they also checked whether the parents' lives were appropriate according to their values. One father said that

> *I met his friends at the café a few times. While we talked about random topics, I analysed his friends with my criteria such as education expectations, decent behaviour, non-smoker and family values. I wanted to know them because I wanted to protect my son from wrong friends (Father-AtB, age 39).*

Behaviour such as smoking and fighting was also crucial for fathers so that they attempted to keep their children away from people who were smokers and fighters. One father said that

> *I found a summer job for him, but in the following days I figured out there was another child, who smoked, in the same working area. I was worried about him starting smoke so that I did not allow him to go to this job anymore (Father-Ors, age 43)*

In the cases above and in similar cases fathers had a variety of approaches to their children's friends to protect their children from people who they regarded as bad.

Fathers mentioned that sometimes they did not have good communication with their children due to father-child boundaries, but sometimes their children did not share anything with them even if fathers have a good conversation with their children. Therefore, fathers sought an approach to know what their children kept secret that they got help from a person, with whom the child shared the problem such as their wife, teacher and neighbour.

Wives were an essential element to knowing about their children's lives so that fathers requested their wives provide information about their children. One father said that

> *He shares everything with his mother, not with me, but I get all the information from my wife. I sometimes indicate what I know about him, but I sometimes behave I do not know anything, so it depends on its secret level. I want to know everything about him because I want to protect him if something is wrong (Father-SuD, age 42)*

Sometimes fathers and children did not spend time together due to working hours and being at home when children were sleeping or at school. One father said that

> *I work until late hours, so he sleeps when I arrive at home, and I sleep while he is going to school. I have no suitable time to control him, but my wife informs me about him. Then I talk to him if something is wrong in his life as I do not want him to have any trouble in his life (Father-RiB, age 43).*

Some fathers' work hours were unsuitable to oversee their children and other fathers' communication with their children did not provide any specific information. They sometimes had no opportunity to oversee their children directly, so they got information from their wives. After disclosure, some of fathers behaved as if they did not know anything, but others indicated they knew something to children. However, this depended on the level of privacy,

which their children shared with mothers. It could be said that this disclosure terminated the confidentiality between their children and mothers even if some of fathers disguised it. Fathers justified that they wanted to know everything about their children as they wanted to protect them from any potential hazard.

Communication deficiencies between fathers and children enforced fathers to enlist help from their wives, however, sometimes their wives revealed without any request when their children had done something wrong. This type of disclosure might be an indicator that fathers were perceived as an authority over their children to ensure their children have decent behaviour.

How fathers got information about their children from other people, who were out of homes such as schoolteachers and neighbours is outlined in the following.

Children spend most of their time at school so that fathers were interested in checking their children's behaviour at school via attending the parent-nights or visiting school randomly. They mainly discussed their children's behaviour at school rather than education progress. One father stated

> *I mostly enquire about her behaviour at school when I attend the school meeting. I also ask her educational achievement, but her behaviour is more important than education (Father-YfG, age 47).*

Fathers reported that education progress and having decent behaviour were important so that they warned their children about the need to behave and study. However, proper conduct was regarded as more important than education, so some fathers attended parent-nights at school to not only consult educational progress but also get reports about their children's behaviour in the classroom.

Children also spend time out of school, so fathers expressed the need to check their children's behaviour outside. In this case, neighbours were the

best option to get information, but this depended on the communication between fathers and their neighbours. Often information from neighbours would provided unsolicited as the neighbours notified them when their children smoked and shoplifted. One father said that

> *One of my neighbours informed me about my son's shoplifting, and then I immediately talked to my son about it in order to change his behaviour via showing him my control (Father-MtT, age 46).*

It is worth noting the difference between requesting and getting unsolicited information when fathers generally enquired about their children, the news usually did not include any bad behaviour. Warning from someone unsolicited informed fathers about their children's bad behaviour. By requesting information and getting information about children's behaviour, fathers indirectly kept scrutinising their children at home, school and beyond.

Fathers indicated that they oversaw their children due to religious obligate that parents were responsible for protecting and guiding their children. One father said that

> *I control him because it is one of the primary religious responsibilities to protect him from any potential hazard (Fahter-HiK, age 39).*

Religious responsibilities also appeared as a reason to oversee and protect children. It could be argued that religion was one of elements to justify the fathers' behaviour while overseeing children.

To sum up, fathers were curious about everything around their children as they worried about their lives and wanted to protect them from any potential hazard. They controlled their activities at home and outside but also they got help from other people to check as they could have no time or no opportunity for this.

Through 'overseeing', fathers aimed to have a child, who had 'decent behaviour'; their children were shaped by the fathers' own expectations. So,

fathers checked whether their children's behaviour was suitable based on a mix of personal and cultural expectations.

5.1.2.2 'Influencing'

Fathers reported that their attempts at 'influencing' focused on their children's behaviour as they attempted to change the behaviour with personal expectations and values. Fathers employed different approaches for influencing their children's behaviour including explanation with a reason or example, reward and psychological control. The 'explanation' was based on communicating with their children articulating what kind of behaviour they expect. This expectation sometimes happened in direct explanation, but was sometimes in indirect approach of giving a message through telling a story about someone else. Furthermore, the 'explanation' was combined with the notion of being a role model. The 'reward' was related to motivating children to enact expected behaviour by praising them or giving them treats, but 'psychological control' involved deterring poor behaviour by negative expressions or removing children's personal belongings, such as mobile.

Fathers also reported that they influenced their children's feelings when their children were down, focusing on their mood and attempting to boost the mood by hugging and praising.

Fathers' 'influencing' behaviour also aimed to make their children follow what they wanted. Behind this worrying about their children lives and wanting protect their children from badly behaving and having bad feelings. The detailed narration and analysis of the 'influencing' is described below.

The main feature of 'influencing' behaviour was based on convincing their children to follow their fathers' expectations. They believed they could shape their children whatever they wanted. So one father said that

My child is like water that is formed by what you put in (Fahter-HiK, age 39)

In this case above and in similar cases, it could be said that most of the fathers believed they had unlimited power to shape their children in whatever way they wanted, but sometimes their children were not that malleable. It could be said that fathers might contribute to the development of their children in the ways they wanted, but sometimes this did not work.

Being a role model was important for fathers, so some of them attempted not to reveal what they regarded as their own bad behaviour to their children. One father said that

> *I never smoke around her, and she never sees my cigarette packet because I do not want to be the wrong model for her (Father-Ors, age 43)*

In this example and in similar cases, the fathers knowledge of their influence as a role model in relation to smoking, but they discouraged their children from following their own behaviour. They reported that they sometimes wanted their children not to follow their bad behaviour.

This reasoning was central to fathers explaining their position and convincing their children to behave accordingly. Their aims for their children was to either encourage the behaviour, which they wanted, or discourage the actions, they did not want. Given their approaches did always not work, some fathers looked for answers as to why their children were not convinced, self-criticised or they asked the children this question. In this situation, a negotiation process started finding an in-between position, which both father and child agreed to. One father said that

> *I always explain why I want him to do something, but sometimes I could not convince him. I ask myself why I could not convince him and then I change my approach to him. However, sometimes he does not understand me, and then I ask him why I could not persuade him. According to his answer, we reach a level which both of us are happy because I care for him (Father-MtT, age 46).*

Fathers were aware that their behaviour affected their children's actions given they were role models, but some of them preferred information giving to being a role model. For example, some fathers went mosques or prayed at home together with their children as they wanted to encourage their children to pray whereas some of fathers just gave their children just religion information. Furthermore, some of fathers concerned from their children their bad behaviour such as smoking as they did not want their children to smoke. However, other fathers smoked when their children were around even if they wanted their children to be non-smoker. It could argued that some fathers influenced their children by giving information and being a role model, but others engaged in just informing or warning their children. In the latter case, it could be debated whether just encouraging their children to behave according to their father's expectations would be sufficient if their children did not see any corresponding model behaviour.

Most fathers believed that their children understood their messages and followed their suggestions, but some fathers initially failed to convince their children so that they found an alternative for their children. It could be interpreted from the former case that fathers had stringent rules for their children due to authority, but it might also be said from the latter that fathers were flexible and had no restrictive expectations of their children due to having a friendly approach. In other words, there are different interpretations that might show not only fathers' authority over their children but also fathers' friendly approach to their children, through their warnings about what they ought to do.

The difference in approaches was the communication between fathers and children; fathers were more talkative in the conversations with their children, they were more likely speakers than children while children were more likely to be listeners. From this perspectives, fathers did not give their children enough voice to defend or respond to their father arguments, so instead the

children listened to their father's speech, showing confirming reactions like silence, reticence, agreement and no interruption.

As previously outlined, fathers directly communicated with their children about what they expected, but fathers also employed indirect ways to show what kind of behaviour their children ought to have. The indirect routes were related to talking about the behaviour of siblings and friends, people's stories and TV shows to indicate their preferred response from their children.

Fathers talked to their children about the bad or good behaviour of their children's siblings or friends to give them indirect messages about what they did or did not like. One father said that

> *He does not want to hear the same advice all the time so that I give him the same message but in different way when I talk about his friends' behaviour and tell what I like and what I do not like because this is a way of convincing him without having any conflict between us (Father-MsM, age 53).*

Having a conflict with their children was an undesirable situation for fathers so that they preferred indirect messages over direct ones. In similar cases, fathers did not criticise their children as they criticised examples of others behaviour, which their children displayed.

Another indirect method was to tell their children other people's stories to encourage behaviour related to education or respectful behaviour towards parents. One father said that

> *I tell her some people's stories about bad behaviour and its consequences to show her indirectly how to behave and what to do because I influence her much better with this method rather than directly telling her (Father-FiT, age 46)*

Fathers also showed their children what would happen if their children had terrible behaviour, by employing another method or telling their children their suggestions, but supporting their argument with pieces of evidence, which were base on others' stories and experiences.

Fathers also had a chance to give their children some messages while they were watching TV, explaining what they liked or and not like in relation to actors' behaviour on TV show or film. One father said that

> *During watching TV, I sometimes tell him my message related to actors' behaviour on TV. So this is a perfect opportunity to give him a message in the right place at the right time (Father-AhC, age 53)*

Criticising people on TV gave fathers opportunities to tell their children what fathers' expectations of their children were. This approach might include criticising their children's current behaviour but also possible action in the future. In other words, fathers built an argument for early intervention.

Fathers also collaborated with people such as wives, friends and relatives to send their children a message about what kind of behaviours their children ought to have including fathers requesting someone talk their children about a specific topic, but their children did not know that their fathers had planned this conversation. One father said that

> *I ask my nephew to tell my son about not having bad behaviour and encouraging being respectful behaviour. This method works much better than when I talk to him* (Father-RiB, age 43).

Working with others to give some messages to their children might show that occasionally fathers did not reveal their authority as others might influence their children rather than them. Furthermore, fathers believed their children got bored when they repeat the same advice in the same ways. Thus they got assistance from others to reinforce the same lesson in different ways.

Fathers' explanations were described as the first phase of attempting to influence their children's behaviour. The second approach, 'reward' is described below.

Fathers employed reinforcement methods to sustain expected behaviour from their children through providing a reward or setting conditions for a

reward. The reward was not only related to financial items such as a phone or camera or renting an electric-bike, but also emotional responses including praising, smiling and congratulating. The latter were expressed fathers used to show they liked their children's behaviour and would be more than happy if their children continued such behaviour, for example, in being tidy and respectful. This approach mainly focused on increasing their children's feeling in relation to the preferred behaviour. The financial rewards were related to giving their children a gift to continue to encourage their children to follow their fathers' expectation or reduce the likelihood of negative behaviour. This approach mostly made a link between the expected behaviour and the gift once fathers and their children both agreed what its criteria were. A father described a conditional agreement with his son that he had established to motivate his son:

> *His educational progress was slow so that I offered him an electric-bike if he gets very good scores from all their exams (Father-MtT, age 46)*

The timing of providing the gift was based on the outcomes of their children's behaviour, they gave it to their children when their children met the criteria or when their children had already done something good even if their children did not meet the exact requirements.

It is important to note providing the reward for the expected behaviour from their children that the 'emotional feedback' could happen at any time when fathers appreciated their children's behaviour. However, the 'economic item' was regarding a commitment between fathers and children by indicating conditions in advance with specific.

Fathers revealed that giving economic rewards such as phones or cameras when their children met their agreement conditions, but entailed a degree of flexibility; they provided financial rewards even if their children did not meet their criteria. It could be argued that fathers might encourage their children to start doing something rather than mainly focusing on reaching their targets.

Furthermore, economic rewards might be an indicator that fathers were the financial authority over their children.

Emotional rewards such as praising, smiling and congratulating were based on encouraging their children to respond more to their father's expectations, but this happened if their children reached some level of their expectation. Children's mood was also an indicator for fathers to deploy an emotional approach. One father said that

> *When I see her unhappy, I friendly approach her and make her mood better by hugging and praising her as her happiness is matter (Father-YfG, age 47)*

In the case above and similar cases, fathers focus on their children's moods was their way of being child-centred. This approach influenced the child's moods in better ways because it addressed the child's happiness. An emotional feedback approach also included more friendly conduct with their children rather than showing their authority over their children. It could be said that fathers explicitly influenced not only their children's behaviour but also feelings.

There were instances of influencing children's feelings through being focused on their children's happiness rather than their own happiness even if the activity made fathers bored. For instance, a father was not interested in watching wrestling videos because he did not like it, but he never showed his distaste when he watched the videos with his son as he preferred his child's enjoyment rather than his pleasure. He said that

> *He brings some wrestling videos as he thinks I like watching it with him. To be honest, I do not like wrestling, but I do not show my dissatisfaction because I do not want to hurt him (Father-NtF, age 46)*

Fathers spoke about not putting their children in the position of being a loser all the time while playing games due to a concern about protecting children's psychology including self-esteem and confidence. One father played a game with his son about identifying actors on the TV shows or films

> *We play a game, which we create, about asking actors' real name on the TV. He sometimes tells the wrong name of the actor, and then I deliberately give the wrong answer for the next actor's name due to not making him feeling a failure (Father-MtT, age 46).*

In the case above and similar cases, fathers intentionally gave their children a chance to feel like a winner rather than a loser even if fathers were a failure from their children's perspective. There was clear that fathers aimed to make their child's feel better.

Previous paragraphs covered the explanation and the reward approaches of motivating their children to behave in expected ways by putting their children at the centre of the interaction and by not hurting their children's feelings. However, fathers sometimes failed in this and consequently employed other approaches to deter unexpected behaviour from their children through negative expression or removing the desired items.

Fathers removed the desired items from their children to show not only their seriousness but also their authority. In this way, they did not give their children any other option by underlining their authority as a father. One father said that

> *She engaged with her phone all the time even if she was eating. I told her many times to stop using the phone while we were together, especially eating time but she kept using her phone and making sounds by touching its keyboard. I finally took her phone and did not give it to her for a while (Father-HnC, age 45).*

Fathers resorted to this psychological control of their children's behaviour when they could not change their children in their preferred ways. This approach resulted in speaking angrily. One father said that

> *I yell at him to stop his bad behaviour if he does not correct it via my warning and explanations. So I worry about him and attempt to protect him from any hazard (*Fahter-MtY*)*

If the stern rebuke did not work, they kept themselves away from their children for a while by not talking or showing love. Fathers narrated that they

employed this kind of psychological control as their last work when their emotional and economic reward methods did not work. However, fathers expressed that they were against any physical punishment as they believe this would damage not only their children but also their relationships with their children. One father said that

> *He smokes even if I am totally against it. I used economic reward, emotional approach as well as psychological control, but I could not change him. I cannot beat him as this would damage him and our relationship. So hope he will stop smoking later (*Father-NtF, age 46*)*

In the case above and similar cases, fathers tried to shape or change their children, but they ceased trying to influence their children when their emotional, economic and psychological control methods failed. It was unclear whether fathers accepted their children's behaviour when their plans did not work, but it is important to note that no father employed any physical punishment even if their children continued acting in the way in which they did not like.

Another important matter related to 'influencing' behaviour in relation to appropriate religious observance is described. Encouraging their children to be religious was exemplified in explaining, showing and praying together.

Fathers informed their children about their religious belief by explaining religious norms. This method was based on two approaches, replying to their children's questions by explaining or providing their children the information without any inquiry. One father said that

> *I rarely do religious practice but I tell him the religious norms that he must know. He also asks a question about the religion and then I give an answer. I want him to understand the spiritual model even if he does not do (Father-Aak, age 48).*

Religion was regarded as an essential value for fathers so that they provided their children with religious information, but some of them rarely practiced religion as a role model in practice. This point might also indicate that teaching religious norms were perceived parental responsibility as fathers

mainly focused on giving their children religious information, but did not force the child to do it in practice.

To reinforce religion information, they also showed their children how to undertake ablutions or pray and then requested their children to show them what they learned. This information used a teaching process of explaining, illustrating and then examining. One father said that

> *After giving information about ablution, I ask him to take ablution when I am there. I want to be sure whether he was doing right (Fahter-HiK, age 39)*

In this case above and similar cases, fathers tested not only whether their children understood what they taught but also whether their instructions were effective by getting children to repeat what they were shown. It could be said that fathers tested both their children and their own methods. Thus, fathers attempted to make their children religious by teaching religion.

As a role model, fathers prayed with their children at home or mosque to encourage their children to follow religious norms. They also kept examining their children's religious knowledge whenever and wherever they had an opportunity. One father said that

> *After praying together at the mosque, I ask him on the way home what he understands from an Imam's speech and what he thinks (*Father-BrY, age 51*)*

Doing religious acts together might reinforce their children religiosity if they do it very often. Most fathers mentioned they went to mosque on Fridays or other religious holidays, but not often. Their influence level might depend on how often these fathers did in practiced religious norms.

To sum up, fathers' 'influencing' behaviour was based on shaping their children with their expectations, and they attempt to manipulate their children's behaviour in convincing ways regarding friendly behaviour, authority and rewards. They adjusted their 'influencing' behaviour with their

children's behaviour as the 'influencing' depended on how much their children met their expectations. They also fluctuated between authoritarian and friendly behaviour in order to balance their rules and boundaries.

5.1.2.3 'Adjusting rules and boundaries'

'Adjusting rules and boundaries' had two significant features that fathers deployed with their children namely the father-zone and the friend-zone. The 'father-zone' was the means by which the relationship was kept formal due to maintaining rules and boundaries, but the 'friend-zone' was used to increase friendliness of relationship. Fathers employed the 'father-zone' or the 'friend-zone' while spending time with their children.

Fathers did not articulate specifically the phrases of 'father-zone' and 'friend-zone' directly in their speech, rather they underlined fatherly and friendly positions with in the father-child relationship. Consequently, 'father-zone' and 'friend-zone' emerged from fathers' expressions reflective of a continuum of boundaries in the father-child relationship.

Fathers, where in 'friend-zone', focused on their children's needs and talked about the ways of understanding their children's feelings. Guiding and advising were the main style of communication while physical and emotional closeness was evident. Physical closeness was based on touching the shoulder, holding hands and linking arms whereas emotional closeness was related to showing love and empathy. Polite, respectful and considerate communication styles were also dominant. The 'friend-zone' was mainly related to encouraging their children to share problems with them like talking with a friend. In this form of communication, the equality of father and child was the main key concept. In other words, 'friend-zone' tended to dissolve boundaries between fathers and children.

The ‘father-zone’ was based on boundaries between father and child as means to protect patriarchal authority over their children by being distant physically and emotionally. The physical distance was to avoid any physical contact while the emotional distance was to limit interest in their children’s feeling. Physical and emotional distance both appeared in ‘father-zone’ while fathers targeted their expectations rather than their children’s needs. Its appearance was related to not looking at their children’s eyes while talking, speaking loudly, not talking anymore and repeating father-child boundaries in their speech. The detailed narration and analysis of the ‘adjusting rules and boundaries’ is described below.

The critical point of effective communication in ‘friend-zone’ was to equalise the relationship between father and child and to spend more time enjoying being each other company or solving problems easily through reducing boundaries. Two key concepts appeared in ‘friend-zone’ such as that of showing physical and emotional closeness.

Physical closeness was a silent way of communicating to boost the father-child relationships without boundaries and social rules that fathers, where no words, were used, but were used it included at least the message of ‘I am here for you’. One father said that

> *We walk on the street, and it usually happens in silence, but I touch his shoulder as communication of saying I am here with him (Father-SuD, age 42)*

Fathers usually gave their children an underlining message ‘they were there for their children’. This claim indicated they helped or would help their children whenever their children needed. Fathers showed their support to their children by behaving friendly manner, but this might also be related to demonstrating their authority over their children as their children needed them.

Holding their children's hand or linking arms together or looking at the children's eyes were the other ways of touching that appeared either with communication or without communication. This approach was also in another silent way of reinforcing confirmation of their children's behaviour. One father said that

> *I look at his eyes in the way of approving his action without any speech (*Father-BrY, age 51*)*

Without any words, fathers gave their children some messages that expressed confirming and supporting for their children in a silent way through physical closeness, like touching and holding. However, it was unclear whether their children received fathers' messages.

It could also be questioned whether fathers initiated the physical closeness to their children or their children encouraged them to be close. One father indicated that the first step of being physical close came from himself and then this continued. There is also another question of whether they were successful at being physically close. So fathers' attempts at being physically close was usually accepted by their children, but in one case, a father did not have the close relationship with his daughter that he had had in previous years

> *We were very close to each other in last years, now I want to be close to my daughter, but she rejects me and makes boundaries between us (Father-OnT)*

It was evident in the case above that father-child closeness was initiated by not only fathers but also their children as one of them could reduce this physical closeness whenever they wanted. It could be contended that boundaries in father-child relationships were created by not only fathers' approaches but also children's preferences.

Emotional closeness was based on understanding children's feelings and showing love to children in verbal communication. Children were regarded as the centre of the communication, and their children's emotional needs were

more important than fathers' expectations, but this approach did not result in spoiling their children.

Understanding children's feelings was not enough as children needed to know whether their fathers understood their mood or situation. So they showed not only their empathy in verbal communication but also their love for their children. One father said that

> *I understand his feeling especially when he is sad, and then I approach him in the way of telling I know him, how much I love him and how much I proud of him (*Father-BrY, age 51*).*

Reflecting feelings was another way of showing to their children not only what they knew about their children but also how much they cared for their children. However, fathers' reflections might not match their children's feelings and situations as their approaches were subjective.

Being in the 'friend-zone' was also based on encouraging their children to share problems with them so that they might guide and advise or provide solutions to their children's problem. One father said that

> *My son will not share any problem with me if I always behave him as a father. Thus I sometimes break the boundaries and then act as a friend (Fahter-HiK, age 39).*

Fathers' positions in relation to their children shifted to being a friend when they wanted to get some information from their children by using friendly communication. However, moving from one position to the other might make their children suspicious about this relationship as their communication styles with their children were not consistent.

Some of fathers mentioned that they obtained information about their children from their wives even if they had no restricted rules and boundaries with their children. One father said that

> *She does not share everything with me even if I have friendly relationship with her. So I get information about her from my wife (Father-OnT)*

In this case above and similar cases, it was unclear whether fathers got more information from their children when they shifted their communication styles from their position as a father to more friendly behaviour.

Following, the features of the ‘friend-zone’ in ‘adjusting rules and boundaries’ were described, the features of the ‘father-zone’ in the ‘adjusting rules and boundaries’ are now discussed.

To maintain rules and boundaries, fathers kept the relationship with their children formal in the ‘father-zone’. Their authority and purpose was at the centre of communication instead of their children’s needs. Consequently their children had to follow their requests without any hesitation. One father said that

I am her father so she must do whatever I order (Father-FiT, age 46).

Obedience was a remarkable feature in the ‘father-zone’ so that their children ought to perceive requests as an order, which must be done without any hesitation. This perception reflects a social hierarchy between fathers and children such that fathers had a higher position than their children. This hierarchy might be observed not only in their speech but also their physical and emotional behaviour in their children.

Both physical and emotional distances mainly appeared together in the ‘father-zone’ communication as a reminder to children of their fathers’ rules and authority. Physical distance involved no physical contact with their children while the emotional distance was not to focus on children’s needs. The main aim was to not spoil the child and maintain authority.

Fathers in ‘father-zone’ communicated with their children via screaming and underlining the father-child boundaries to focus on what fathers requested and what their child must do. One father said that

> *I ask him to study more but he wants me to say different something, and then I angrily say I am his father, not his friend that I cannot talk or do different something with you (Father-AhC, age 53).*

Fathers might have substantial power over their children when they kept their boundaries by speaking loudly, but this happened when their children did not follow their instruction the first time. It is reasonable to assume that fathers increased their volume when they felt their children ignored their demands and authority. This approach was also a way of showing their angry face to their children.

Fathers also employed silence to show their authority over their children by looking the children in the eye while speaking, as well ignoring their children when they were around. One father said that

> *I do not talk him until he does what I want, but sometimes I do not look at his face when I talk to him (Father-MtT, age 46)*

Being silent was opposite to raising their voice, but both approaches were a reminder to their children who had the authority. These boundaries with their children were demonstrated by employing dual approaches of silence and yelling.

Despite having authority over their children, some fathers were aware that that power might hurt the feelings of their children, causing in anxiety, guilty, loneliness and sadness. Thus, one father worried about the effect of his own authority over his daughter, and said that

> *Sometimes I cannot control myself and do not know whether my jurisdiction damage my daughter's feelings so that I asked my wife to stop me when my behaviour hurt my daughter's feelings (Father-FiT, age 46)*

In this case and similar cases, fathers requested their wives monitor whether their behaviour affected their children in negative ways. It should be noted that fathers were not the only person, who had authority over their children at

home as their wives could also affect their children if fathers allowed their wives to do this.

Some fathers also worried about hurting their children's feelings when they negatively commented on their children's jokes or manner of speech. They reflected on their behaviour in the days following their reaction by wondering whether their comment harmed their children. One father said that

> *He sometimes makes an awful joke, and then I reply it with negative comments. So I start to think whether my negative comment makes him unhappy. Then I attempt to fix it (Father-SuD, age 42)*

As outlined above, there were consequences in each fathers' actions towards their children, so much so that they ruminated over whether their actions were appropriate, but this tended to occur **after** their initial reactions. Fathers appear to care about their own behaviour to their children not wanting to emotionally hurt their children. This approach was also an indicator that their children's wellbeing might be more important than maintaining their authority over them.

After judging their own behaviour, some fathers apologised for having done something that hurt their children's feelings or made their children unhappy. One father said that

> *I was so angry with him and used terrible words to him. Then I figured out my mistakes and apologised to him by saying that it happened as I did not control myself (Father-NtF, age 46).*

The fathers, who defended themselves even if they were wrong, could be regarded as still wanting to maintain their authority over their children, but some fathers apologised for poor behaviour. This approach might reflect that fathers would not adopt the same position as they realised their behaviour was inappropriate. In other words, fathers abandoned their authority over their children in order to avoid hurting their children and for improving communication with them.

In these cases, some fathers shifted their position from the ‘father-zone’ to the ‘friend-zone’ as they realised their behaviour might hurt their children, especially in relation to psychological outcomes.

Being in the ‘father-zone’ or the ‘friend-zone’ was also related to sharing time and place with others, especially grand-parents, as Turkish norms entail not having close relationship with a child when the grand-parents around. So one father said that.

> *I make quite a boundary with him at home as I live with my own parents that I do not show my emotional feeling to him when my parent is around me. So walking outside gives me an opportunity to spend time together and show my love to him (Fahter-HiK, age 39)*

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This absence of affection as a result of Turkish norms, appeared in extended families in which fathers and their parents lived in the same house. All participants lived in nuclear families, except one father, who lived within a extended family, the mentioned that he could have no close relationships with his son at home as his parents were around, but he had a better relationships with his son outside where his parents would not monitor him. It could be interpreted that fathers’ attitudes to their children depended not only on personal but also cultural references. In other words, being in the ‘father-zone’ or the ‘friend-zone’ was based not only on the father’s own decision but also on cultural expectations.

To sum up, fathers built boundaries to sustain a hierarchal higher position when they did not want to weaker their authority. However, they also implied wanting to have an equal relationship with their children since they cared about their children’s needs more than their own expectations. Consequently, they shifted positions from the ‘father-zone’ to the ‘friend-zone’, and vice versa, to balance authority and friendship with their children. However, fathers did not pay attention to this balance when they were aware that their children had problems.

5.1.2.4 Problem-solving'

Fathers helped their children solve problems, which either their children or others revealed to them or they understood from observing their children's behaviour. Their approach was based on communicating with children or others to better understand their children problems and to find a feasible solution.

Many attempted to solve the problem by themselves, searching on the Internet and talking to friends. It is important to note in advance that fathers did not follow just one suggestion form the internet or others, rather they found their own way through a mix sources and suggestions. 'Problem-solving' behaviour was based on caring for their children and appeared in the form of worrying and protective behaviour.

The critical point of 'problem-solving' behaviour was to identify their children's problem and then move onto the next step of solving the problem.

Before solving a problem, there is a need to describe the problem exemplified by the Turkish phrase 'to solve a problem the first attempt is to understand the problem'. So, the first step was to find out whether their children had any problem before going deeper to get more details about the issue. This approach was related to noticing the problem or being informed about the problem. Noticing the problem was based on seeing different behaviours from their children such as being unhappy, not eating, not talking or staying in their room. However, they sometimes did not know about unexpected behaviour in their children and were informed about problems for example smoking, school attendance or fighting, by their wives, a teacher or neighbour. After learning about the problem, fathers searched on how to eliminate or solve the problem by asking their friends or experts and also used the Internet.

Their children sometimes described problems such as a schoolteacher's behaviour and feelings of failure, but their children usually did not share these issues instantly, so fathers tended to focus on understanding what was wrong in their children's lives via asking about the problem directly or checking their children's phone, as well as requesting their wives for information.

Fathers usually understood whether or not their children had problems when their children altered their routines such as going to their room after school and staying there, not eating any food, looking woeful and not wanting to talk. However, they could not necessarily predict what the problem was. One father said that

> *I can understand when she has a problem. She always opens the door as I come in. If she does not open the door or is not around the entrance, this means she has a problem, but I do not have any idea about her problem (Father-Ors, age 43).*

Understanding their children's behaviour was very complicated as it was difficult to reach any conclusion without inquiry. To inquire about on issue, fathers asked their children about the problem but it either happened in an instant or was postponed. The former was based on investigating the problem immediately when they figured out something was wrong with their children's behaviour, but the latter was related to waiting a while until their children were ready to talk with the father. One father said that

> *He quickly shows when he has a problem regarding the face of woe, not talking and staying in his room. I do not ask him about his problem on that day, so I wait for a few days, and then I ask him about the issue (Fahter-HiK, age 39)*

Some fathers waited for a while to talk to their children in order to give more time to their children to think about their problems, but this might also be related to providing a bit of time for fathers to think through how to approach their children. It could be argued that 'waiting for a while' provided some opportunities to either fathers or children, but fathers remained inactive until they were ready to start communicating with their children about problems.

Talking did not mean that their children always shared problems with them, but they might give little details about issues and which the father then attempts to understand it. One father said that

> *He gives me some pieces of his problem such as a puzzle, and then I complete these pieces and see his problem (Father-SuD, age 42)*

With small pieces of their children's problems, fathers interpreted it, but were stay unsure exactly what their children's issues were. Fathers talked about not knowing about their children's issues if they do not discuss with them everything related to the problem.

Since some details were not shared with fathers, they requested their wives to talk to their children about the problem or asked their wife whether she had any release. Then fathers were more noticing the problem by their wives. However, fathers claimed that they debated whether this shared information was filtered to make it more acceptable situation for them.

Sometimes fathers and their wives did not get any information even when directly communicating with their children about problems. In this case, they secretly checked their children's private belongings such as phones, but they never mentioned anything even if they saw something. One father said that

> *I check his phone when I feel something wrong in his life, and he does not share anything. I do it because I worry about him, but I do not tell him directly even if I see something on his phone (Borekci).*

When their children did not give them any clue, fathers did not believe that checking their children's personal properties was a privacy violation due to parental rights and responsibilities. In this situation, fathers thought they had a right to breach their children's privacy, but did not want their children to know. This might be an indicator that fathers perceived their behaviour as somewhat unethical.

The previous paragraphs covered fathers' attempts at identifying their children's problems when they regarded their children's behaviour as unusual. However, they sometimes did not know about their children's problems until other people informed them something wrong was in their children lives such as smoking and fighting. Their wives also revealed bad behaviour at home while behaviour outside was brought to light by neighbour and schoolteachers. This feature of being provided details by others is explored further under 'overseeing'.

After identifying the problem, fathers attempted solutions by employing their own approaches or by searching on the Internet or asking friends and experts.

Educational problems were common issues for children that fathers dealt with when their children were not happy with their educational progress. Although all the fathers expected their children to have better educational results, they primarily focused on their children's educational motivation rather than results. One father said that

> *She is so upset when she gets a lower score. In that time, I approach and motivate her that she has enough ability to do whatever she wants (Father-YfG, age 47).*

In this situation and others like it, children's educational progress was sometimes lower than fathers' expectations, but they attempted to motivate their children to have better outcomes rather than criticising them. In this context, fathers did not change their educational expectation of their children, but they changed their approaches through using more motivational communication.

Fathers adopted their own fathers' behaviour when they were happy with it, but they did not follow their own fathers' behaviour when they were not happy or had the unfortunate experience with it. Thus, their experience with their fathers was a significant feature in relation to fathering attitudes as they

compared what happened in the relationship with their fathers in the past and the relationship with their children in the present. One father said that

> *My father believed that his responsibilities were to warn me what I must do it instead of guiding me. Therefore, I advise my daughter not only what she can do but also how she can do (Father-FiT, age 46).*

It was clear that fathers perceived themselves as having better-fathering attitudes in comparison to their own experience of their own fathers' behaviour. This approach was a subjective view in indicating whether or not they thought their behaviour was better than their fathers. However, fathers sometimes did not have any comparison point between their own fathering and their fathers' behaviour as their experience with their fathers in the past was not similar, for example the case of mobile phone and the Internet. Fathers found solutions either by making their own decision without help or by getting help from the Internet or other people.

Technological development for sharing knowledge on the Internet encouraged fathers to search for suggestions on how to solve their children's problem. One father said that

> *I review my son's behaviour or problems and ask myself why he behaved like that yesterday or how I can react because I care about him. Then I search for it on the Internet to get information about understanding him and suggestions of how to treat him (Father-AhC, age 53).*

In these cases, fathers were unsure that the information on the Internet provided the right sources regarding appropriate solutions to the problems, their children had. So, they were a bit suspicious of employing the suggestions in practice due to having different communication styles, family values and circumstances. To find similar patterns related to their children's problems, they looked for help from their friends, who had children in the same age group child and similar family values. This track was based on indicating how to approach their children by getting some advice from their friends before taking further any action. One father said that

> *My son wanted to have a smartphone, and then I asked my friend about it as my friend bought his child a phone in the last months. His suggestion was not to buy any smartphone as his child spent more time on the phone instead of studying. So, I decide to buy the phone later on because I worry about him and want to maintain his education progress (Fahter-HiK, age 39).*

Fathers' friends were an important resource for pointing out their solutions, but some fathers mentioned that they did not share their children's problems with their friends as they did not expect any better ideas from their friends. The sharing was also related to what kind of problem their children had, such that fathers sought advice about education and mobile phone from their friends, but they did not tell their friends when their children's issues were related to smoking and fighting. Sometimes fathers did not share their children's problems with their friends as they might want to keep it a secret.

When friends did not have any similar experience or fathers did not want to share children's problems, fathers thought of seeking professional help and they went to experts such as a schoolteacher, school counselor, psychologist or psychiatrist in order to find a solution for their children. These issues were related to their children's school attendance, education and psychology.

Various suggestions were indicated on the Internet or by friends or experts so that fathers followed suggestions with filtering their criteria such as personality and family values to make feasible solutions for their children's problem. One father said that

> *I check whether suggestions are suitable for not only my son's situation but also my personality and my values. Then I find my own way by modifying or mixing the suggestions (Father-MtT, age 46).*

Fathers found one or a few approaches for solutions for their children's problems, but they did not follow just one outcome. They developed to their own way, mixed sources and suggestions. In this case, fathers filtered results with their criteria including their personality and family values to produce a feasible solution for their children's problems.

To sum up, understanding their children's problems was a result of worrying about their children's lives whereas finding solutions for issues was based on protecting their children from any potential hazards. 'Problem-solving', fathers had friendlier behaviour and less authority so that the father-child relationship was built with equality and empathy.

Fathers further exhibited their fathering behaviour when they spent time with their children so that their social activities together was also another dimension of father-child interactions.

5.1.2.5 'Socialising'

Fathers' 'socialising' behaviour was aimed at spending good time with their children by doing activities together at home or out. These activities gave them not only an opportunity together but also opportunity for understanding their children's feelings and lives during activities. Activities at home were related to relaxing or enjoying activities including watching TV or film, playing leisure games, cooking and wrestling in the evening weekdays or daytime during the weekend due to working schedules. The outside activities were mainly sport, relaxing and social activities such as walking in the street or in the countryside, playing football, shopping, picnic and going to a café, usually happened on day off or a weekend.

The key word 'socialising' was related to doing things together at home and out, activities that were sometimes with only their children but sometimes with other family members.

It is important to note in advance that 'socialising' behaviour was aimed to spending time with their children but also this giving them opportunities to talk with their children and show other fathering styles in action. Therefore, 'socialising' behaviour appeared with other fathering styles.

The two main classification for activities that fathers did when their children was at home or outside the home.

After school for children and after work for fathers, the evening was the better time for not thinking of school or work duties for a while. Fathers were usually tired after work, but had some energy for engaging in spending time with children. Therefore, they preferred simple activities that did not need too much effort. The most leisurely activity was to watch TV or a film together and talk about actors, their behaviours in the movie or their real lives. One father said that

> *I am usually tired when I am back home, but we watch TV shows or films in the evening. This activity gives me excellent opportunity to talk something with my daughter regarding matters on TV (Father-BnC, age 51).*

Watching TV together was the primary social activities that sometimes fathers kept the remote control whereas sometimes fathers gave it to their children. In other words, sometimes fathers decided what they want to watch while sometimes their children decided if they had the remote control for changing TV channels. It could be said that fathers showed their authority while holding the remote control but they waived their authority if they gave the remote control to their children.

Fathers made a bit more effort with their children when they were less tired and their children did not have any homework. So they played classic traditional leisure games such as cards or rummikub, but they sometimes created their own game such as the actors' real names on TV or sitting on the balcony for observing people on the street. One father said that

> *We sit on the balcony and watch people on the street. Then we talk about their clothes or walking styles or other something. So this gives variety chances about not only talking topics such as fun but also expressing himself (Father-SuD, age 42)*

Fathers not only played classic traditional games but also created own games in order to have a fun time together with their children. They attempted to make their children happy while playing games to show they cared about their behaviour by no making them unhappy. This behaviour might also demonstrate that fathers' preference was to spend a happy time together.

Cooking and eating were different issues for fathers as cooking was traditionally not related to fathers' attitudes instead of just eating. However, a father liked cooking and getting help from his daughter how to cook better. This activity gave them a common talking topic and encouraged her to learn how to cook some food by doing practice. Furthermore, this showed her in contrast to the traditional concept that men could cook food.

Another traditional concept was wrestling, which was usually perceived as men sports as this sport needs physical strength. However, one father wrestled with his daughter as an entertainment activity, and he mentioned that

> *I wrestle with her at home…I also wrestle with my son, who is younger than her. She wanted to wrestle with me while I started to wrestle with her brother. So this is an excellent opportunity for spending time together and making her have in good physical condition (Father-YfG, age 47).*

Few fathers mentioned 'cooking' and 'wrestling'. Both of them classified those using traditional gender stereotypes that 'cooking' was related to female activity whereas 'wrestling' was based on male activity. However, some fathers cooked and wrestled with their daughters, which was opposite side of gender stereotypes. Some fathers broke the traditional gender stereotype on wrestling and cooking and gave their daughters a message of no differences between boys and girls. These behaviours were also classified as being a role model to their children.

Education was an essential element for fathers, so they encouraged their children to read more books and study more. Most of them employed adopted a method of advising why their children should do more for the future. One father also made a reading arrangement time for spending time together and being a role model for his son that

> *We turn off the TV after diner, and everyone gets some books or novel or newspaper. He usually does his homework, and I read a novel. This action encourages him to focus on his study more in the better way as a role model rather than advising on study more (*Father-AtB, age 39*)*

Role model behaviour appeared in reading, studying, praying and going to the mosque together. Fathers not only spent time with their children but also encouraged their children to do what they wanted. It could be said that fathers' socialising combined activities with some of their influencing behaviour features. More details about role models is addressed under 'influencing' behaviour. In the following what fathers and children did together out of the home is described.

Fathers and children settled down into a routine of work, school and sleeping on weekdays, but they usually had both free time at the weekend to spend time together. Having available time at the weekend gave them time for activities out of home such as walking, playing football, doing the picnic, shopping, visiting relatives and having dinner. In other words, the activities outside made them break their routine life schedule. These activities sometimes were just between fathers and children, but sometimes with other family members as well.

Walking in the city centre or the countryside was an activity that happened between fathers and children in order to relax and get fresh air. During walking, they sometimes talked about random topics, but times were quiet. Fathers also mentioned that they were physically closer to their children out of home such as holding the hand, link arms and touching shoulder. One father said that

> *While we are walking on the street, I used to hold his hand, but nowadays we link arms in order to be closer to each other because I intend to show that I am always with him and support him whatever happens (Father-AhC, age 53).*

In this case and similar cases, fathers had a more physical attachment to their children outside such as holding hands, linking arms and touching the shoulder. It could be related to not only showing their protection of their children from any potential hazard but also making their children feel they were with their children.

Father-child or father-child-mother spent time together shopping, having dinner out or sitting in a café. Some fathers were happy to go shopping with their children whereas others did not like it. However, as they were usually around shopping mall, they paid the bill. This behaviour might indicate they perceived themselves as their financial authority. Some fathers also guided their children to made better choices to reflect; they were with their children. After shopping, there were also other socialising activities such as eating or drinking something together. This behaviour might also indicate that fathers were willing to spend more time with their children.

Fathers usually aimed to make their children more social so that they made opportunities for their children to interact with other people whom they know. Visiting relatives, doing picnics with other families and playing football were based on an arrangement not only to spend time with their children but also encourage their children to communicate with others. So, one father said that

> *We play football in a court every week with other fathers and their children. This activity is not only the sport but also social activity with others (Father-SuD, age 42).*

Since fathers and their children had social interaction with others at the same place, socialising behaviour happened not only father-child interaction but also father-child-other interactions.

To sum up, due to work and school schedules, their activities at home usually happened on weekdays whereas their activities outside mainly happened on weekends. During activities, fathers had opportunities not only to spend time together but also understand their children's feeling and lives so that 'socialising' increased fathers' awareness about their children.

5.1.3 Summary

Fathers described themselves as most highly involved in 'overseeing' and 'influencing' and least involved in 'problem-solving' and 'socialising'. No one father covered only one theme's features, and the themes did not reflect on person's character. Each father also had their own specific fathering behaviour, their behaviour depending on variety of circumstances around them. Fathers spoke not only of their children's behaviour but also their relationship with their children. The fathers claimed that their children's behaviour was the primary determinant of how they 'fathered'. Fathers' reports indicated that wives and neighbours perceived fathers as an authority figure over children when their children seemed to be poorly behaved. Thus fathers felt pressure to control and shape their children. Fathers' engagement with their children increased when they became more suspicious because they cared about their children. 'Worry' and 'protection' were cited as justifications for this, however paternal responsibilities and children's private lives were conflict areas in the father-adolescent relationship. Fathers regularly shifted between authority and closeness. Authority was more visible when they focused on their expectations rather than children's needs, whereas closeness was more visible when they showed they cared about children's needs. Consequently, there was a mix of authoritarian and friendly behaviours.

Overall then, the fathers in this study displayed a variety of behaviours when circumstances were called upon, with no one father being the epitome of one

particular category of behaviour. Notwithstanding this, the two most frequent categories of behaviour were that of the ‘overseer’ and ‘influencer’.

5.1.4 Discussion

The fathers offered a number of explanations for their behaviour and opinions. All of them had personal and cultural explanations as to why their approaches to their children were right. Each father sought to optimise their abilities to make their fathering behaviour as good and effective as possible. This effort could be seen in their reports through each theme, which was formed by a question, ‘what do fathers do’ in previous parts.

The main themes overlapped different domains in the father-child relationship. Therefore, there is a need to further look at the fathers’ reports. The following overarching themes emerge from an extended analysis of the fathers’ reports: current and previous generations, traditional and contemporary forms, awareness, reciprocity, religion, allies and gender

Generational patterns of fathering (hands-off and hands-on fathering)
Notions of ‘doing better’ were based on respondent comparing their fathering with their fathers’ fathering. Fathers tried to imitate some rules of their fathers as they were happy with their fathers’ behaviour. When they did not follow rules of their fathers it was because they had been unhappy with their fathers’ approach.

This reaction has been found in other studies, e.g., that of Malay fathers of adolescent children being connected to perceptions of their fathers’ involvement (Juhari *et al*. 2013). In relation to Turkey, and Turkish fathers and their fathers, Sunar (2002) found that the previous generation of fathers were perceived as being less emotionally open and close to their children than the younger generation of parents; for example, authoritarian behaviour (associated with the older generation) was reported to be decreasing whereas acknowledgement of child autonomy was reported to be increasing.

In another study, Turkish fathers retained authority and discipline over their children but held more flexible disciplinary approaches and less rigid authoritarian styles (Yalcinoz, 2011, 94).

In addition, the fathers in this study mainly reported their experience with their fathers negative, leading them to be less authoritarian and more loving and involved. This alteration in behaviour was also found in the study of Boratav *et al*. (2014) on Turkish fathers.

The fathers in the current study recounted that they worried about their children more than their fathers did about them. This was in reference to what they believed were the adverse effects of urbanisation, such as not knowing neighbours or being unsure whether the neighbourhood was a safe place for children.

Physical punishment has been prevalent in Turkey (Ulusavas 1990, 143) and involved beating, shoving slapping and spanking (Yaban *et al*. 2014, 7). However, the 'General Directorate of Family and Social Researches' (2006) has reported that Turkish parents tended to punish their children less and exercise softer punishment methods. Since then, corporal punishment has become rarer among fathers in Turkey (Yalcinoz 2011, 158). This study indicates their corporal punishment was not evident of father-adolescent relationships.

However, although less prevalent, physical punishment has been found to be supplanted by psychological control, e.g. unfavourably comparing, embarrassing, ignoring and accusing (Yaban *et al*. 2014, Sofuoglu 2016). Fathers in the current study reported that they attempted to influence their children by withholding terms of endearments or not developing a close relationship with their children. This was different from displaying anger with fathers in instead using silence. This study is line with existing research

showing that Turkish fathering has changed regarding corporal punishment, the latter being replaced with psychological control.

This study suggests that Turkish fathering has altered regarding increased efforts to establish greater closeness, having more relaxed expressions of authority and discipline, and not uncritically following the behaviour of previous generations of fathers.

'Fathering' traditional and contemporary forms

Traditional fathering has been described as more demanding than responsive (Baumrind 1991), and modern fathering involves children more. Fathers in this study compared their fathering with that of their fathers. They felt that they had less traditional fathering behaviours such as showing love, expressing friendly behaviour, sharing more time as well as authority. However, they still believed that their behaviour was more of the demanding type rather than responsive. This result was in concordance with other studies that suggested that, although the new generation of Turkish fathers is adopting modern types of role model, a patriarchal relationship is still dominant in fathers' attitudes (Kuzucu 2011, 85; Tecik 2012, 12).

It can be inferred that wider changes in Turkish society have influenced the nature and development of relationships. Authority and masculinity in Turkish families have been affected by the moves an agricultural to industrial society, and from extended to nuclear family forms (Yagbasan & Imik 2006; Ozguven 2001; Haktandir *et al*. 1999). However, a patriarchal ideology has remained even where fathers were more involved with their children (Kuzucu 2011, 85). This observation is in concordance with fathers' reports in the current study, in which they perceive themselves as the highest authority in the family.

Nevertheless, fathers in the current study stressed the dilemma of exercising authority and maintaining closeness. Whilst a certain distance is needed for

autonomy, closeness is necessary for relatedness (Senste 2010, 45). It showed that fathers struggled with balancing authority and closeness.

Fathers in the current study also had another dilemma, that of enabling children's freedom whilst being protective. Boratav *et al*. (2014, 308) also underlined a similar dilemma that Turkish fathers wanted to be different from their fathers regarding freedom and protection, but they did not know where to draw the line. Turkish fathers appear to now be challenged with giving greater freedom and protecting children at the same time.

Overall, in terms of the differences between traditional and modern fathering, issues of authority and respect became more visible when children reached adolescence and it was found earlier that the result was a greater formal relationship between fathers and adolescents in Turkey (Ataca 2006, 473). This onset of formality seemed to jeopardise closeness and emotional exchange with the latter replaced with fear and respect (Fisek 2002). However, fathers in this study reported that they continued to have informal relationships with their adolescent children including physical and emotional closeness. This result is in accordance with the study by Boratav *et al*. (2014, 302) that found that formal relationships between fathers and children in upper-middle-class families were seen to be diminishing and (partly) being replaced by informal ones. Furthermore, new fatherhood in Turkey seems to be developing features of more flexibility in the hierarchal relations between fathers and children (Yalcinoz 2011, 184). Thus, it could be said that traditional fathering was changing forever and being replaced by a mix of formal and informal relationships with adolescent children.

Awareness of 'fathering'

Awareness was also another indicator of perceptions of the importance of 'doing better' fathering. Fathers explained that this awareness was about understanding children's behaviour and feelings, and appreciating links between cause and effect in the father-child relationships.

Fathers were eager to know everything about their adolescent children, especially their peers, as adolescent children spent more time with their peers at school or in other activities. They directly or indirectly found a way of learning about their children's lives, but their awareness of their children's peers also depended on how much their children disclosed. This revealed showed that the level of fathers' awareness about their children was dependent not only fathers' own approach but also children's willingness to share (or leak) information.

Fathers engaged with their children's problems by searching on the Internet and asking friends and experts. More than two decades ago, Mizrakci (1994) reported that Turkish fathers approached their children with only traditional knowledge gained from what they observed of their own fathers. This difference might indicate that Turkish fathers have more opportunities to increase their awareness of parenting behaviour nowadays due to technological development. Furthermore, it indicated that Turkish fathers appeared to be more open to ask about and investigate their children's issues with other people.

The fathers in this study were better educated than previous generations of Turkish fathers and seemed more motivated and could quickly access more resources about fathering and children's development. However, it is worth noting that it has been found that any increase of 'father-awareness' is also related to a higher educational level and greater familiarity with technological development in Turkey (Tezel-Sahin 2011), something that not all fathers will have.

On the other hand, children spent more time surfing the Internet and video game-playing, and the fathers tended to interpret these activities as negative as in keeping them away from studying. Thus, most of the fathers in the study limited children's use of their phone and laptop. Schulz (2003) has

shown that social media in the United States also adversely affects fathers' involvement as adolescents spent more time on social media. It could be said that although technology has increased fathers' awareness of the importance of parenting behaviour, technology has also laid the grounds for conflict between fathers and children – as fathers believe it retards educational progress and decreases the time spent with each other.

Reciprocity

Fathers reported that they became more aggressive and authoritarian when their children did not follow their requests, but that they were friendlier when their children showed obedience and respectful behaviour. It indicated that Turkish fathering behaviour is influenced by their children's behaviour.

Fathers also reported that they engaged with their children when they were suspicious and, or worried. Coley and Mederious (2007) also found similar responses in African-American families, with fathers increasing involvement when adolescent children seem to engage in delinquency. They showed that fathers become more protective of their adolescents when they perceive their children to be involved in risky behaviour.

Coercive behaviour was more visible in the current study when adolescents did not study, but fathers' coerciveness had a negative effect on the father-child relationship. This result is concordance with Saxbe *et al*.'s (2014) study that found fathers' forcible behaviour increased adolescents' avoidance. It showed that coerciveness diminishes father-child closeness.

Some fathers were blocked by their adolescent children when they wanted to have a close relationship similar to previous years. Whilst fathers desired to build close relationships with their adolescent children, their children were also gatekeepers for fostering or obstructing this when they were younger. Consequently, the father-child relationship is not constructed by fathers' decision alone.

Fathers in the present study indicated that they initiated interactions with their adolescents when they saw their children upset. In other words, they felt that their children signalled their unhappiness in order to make them initiate interactions. Thus, there was not certain point about who activities father-child interaction, but children's behaviour was nevertheless affected fathers' behaviour. These finding reflect that the father-child relationship is two-way. Ashbourne and Daly (2010b, 14) also found this reciprocity in relationships.

Religion

Turkish society is shaped by religious norms due to the beliefs of the majority of the Turkish population (Boratav *et al*. 2014). Fathers underlined one of their responsibilities as teaching Islam to their children. Juhari *et al*. (2013) explained this as follow: God entrusts parents to fulfil worldly and after-life goals for their children. Consequently, fathering behaviours in Turkey include religious expectations.

Parents in Turkey are a role model for religious values in relation to praying and rituals (Tezcan 1999, 52). Fathers attempted to be a religious role model in order to encourage their children to become more religious. Although they were not a religious role model all the time regarding praying five times a day, fathers paid more attention to religious rituals on holy nights. Consequently, being a religious role model is more visible on these occasions.

Fathers sought to encourage their children to have what they regarded as decent behaviour by teaching Islam. Religious people perceive altruism, modesty and forgiveness as a virtue as well as worship (Lambert & Dollahite 2006). Islam plays a wider, but also a crucial element in Turkish society in terms of norms about being good, behaving well and being humble (Rzayeva 2007; Tecik 2012, 81). Turkish fathers teach Islam to their children not only

because of perceived religious parenting responsibility but also as a way of making children behave decently.

Since fathers prayed with their children, they carried on not only their individual religious responsibility for God but also their parenting responsibility for their children in relation to religious expectations. Hence, they got the best of both worlds, i.e. personal adherence to faith and the implementation of father-child responsiblity.

Fathers used the hadiths (recorded saying of the Prophet) to guide their parenting behaviour. The prophet Muhammad counted to 'treat children well and teach good manners to them' (Ibn Mace, Edeb 3). It could be inferred that this and similar hadiths influence fathers relation with their children. Consequently, hadiths shape and encourage fathers and fathering in Turkey.

Allies

Fathers preferred dyadic interaction with their adolescent children rather than triadic interaction. However, they sometimes needed allies for better results. For example, fathers needed their wives' help because they reported that their adolescent children shared problems with their mothers first. Other studies also found the same (Tecik 2012; Lesch & Ismail 2014). This sharing might be related to affection and involvement as not only fathers had harsher discipline than wives (Saricam 2012; Yalcinoz 2011) but that children felt that they had easier communication with mothers than fathers (Shek 2010; Levin & Currrie 2010). It could be said that wives were one of the fathers' staunchest allies when there was a communication deficiency between themselves and adolescent children. Wives also had an essential role as a buffer in the father-child relationship when fathers were in conflict with their adolescent children (Tecik 2012, 94). Fathers reported that their wives helped to break the ice between fathers and their children. However, since their wives took a mediating role between fathers and children, this mediation

made fathers dependent on their wives to facilitate relations between them and their children.

Fathers gave examples other allies such as relatives and friends when they requested support from them to resolve their conflict with their children due to preserving distance and consolidating authority in the father-child relationship. These allies had effective outcomes in children's behaviour while maintaining fathers' hierarchical superiority (Ashbourne *et al*. 2012; Ustunel 2010).

It could then be suggested that this study has shown that Turkish fathering is unchanged given being helped by others remains a means for enforcing authority in the relationship.

Gender

Fathers in the current study presented themselves as more egalitarian in their behaviour, for example checking children's items, educational progress, getting help from wives about children, talking topic, spending time, teaching religion, being a role model and similar expectations. However, this study showed that there are some areas where gender issues are still visible in terms of intimacy relations, monitoring, getting help from relatives about children and emotional involvement. The gender elements are now discussed.

Checking their children's private items such as phones and laptops were direct (or secret) ways by fathers in the current study in their wish to know everything about their children's lives. They perceived the resistance from children by blocking investigations, so the resistance was applicable to both genders of children.

Fathers engaged in checking whether there was any sexual content in their sons' items regarding phone and laptop; they checked their daughters' items

about romantic relationship. This difference showed that the fathers were more relaxed about romantic relationship for their sons than their daughters, but also the fathers had strict rules about sexuality for both genders.

The fathers in the current study felt they were an authority over whether their children could go out, especially in the evening. They followed where their daughters went whereas they investigated via scrutinising questions of their sons more. This difference might indicate that the fathers were reluctant to talk about their children's outdoor activities with their daughters than their sons, but they doubtlessly monitored their children's activities regardless of gender. Cetin-Gunduz and Cok (2015) reported that Turkish fathers monitored their adolescent daughters more than their sons, but this result was inconsistent with the current study and that of Aksoy *et al*. (2008) on Turkish fathering. This difference shows that gender difference features in paternal monitoring over adolescents in Turkey nowadays.

Fathers mentioned their daughters had no summer job whereas some of the fathers said that their sons had a job. All of them wanted their children to have a better job in the future. This difference highlighted that fathers allowed more opportunity for working on holiday for their sons than their daughters. It might reflect that the male breadwinner figure is still a dominant norm, but fathers attempt to break taboos about the breadwinner given their desire for their children to have a job in the future, regardless of gender. Furthermore, most of the fathers in the current study underlined that they wanted their children to study and relax in the summertime rather than work. This result was in concordance with Karagoz (2016), which reported that three-quarters of Turkish fathers reported they wanted their adolescents to study in the summer holiday. It showed that adolescents' educational progress was an important aspiration for Turkish fathers regardless of gender.

Fathers in the current study believed that they could shape their children regardless of gender, but they got help from people, who were around their

children, to reinforce this influence on their children. They mainly requested female relatives e.g. the child's aunt or cousin when they had an issue related to their daughters; whereas they primarily requested male relatives when they had an issue related to their sons. This response indicates that their children's gender influenced from whom the fathers could seek help. However, they also sought help from their wives for both their daughters and sons.

During time together, fathers talked to their adolescent children about education, friends, technology, behaviour, religion, sport and plans, topics common for both sons and daughters. Tecik (2012, 92) claimed that sport, especially football, was a common talking topic in the father-son relationship in Turkey in early years, but fathers in the current study discussed football with both their daughters and sons. This behaviour indicated that Turkish fathers communicated with children about various topics regardless of their children's gender. Furthermore, fathers reported that wrestling and cooking were other activities they did with their sons and daughters even if these activities were traditionally gender based. It seems from the reports that fathers time spent with their children was breaking traditional taboos about gendered activities.

Another example of such gender-neutral behaviour was the religious practice of fathers. They reported praying at home together, but they could not pray in the mosque with their daughters due to religious norms. Whilst these religious norms have an impact on gender, fathers did not differentiate their approach for their sons and daughters in relation to informing them about religion. Islam advises that parents will go to heaven if they lavish attention and goodness on their daughters too (Nevevi 1990). Consequently, religion encourages fathers to be fair in the relationships with their children regardless of gender.

In a study by Telsiz (1998, 75) Turkish fathers selected books and TV shows, especially for sons. However, fathers in this study had similar approaches for influencing their sons and daughters through selecting books and watching TV shows. This behaviour appears to indicate that contemporary Turkish fathers are role models for their adolescent children regardless of gender.

According to Ataca (2006), Turkish parents expect more obedience and dependence from their daughters whereas they allowed more aggressiveness and independence from their sons. However, fathers in the current study did not mention any different expectations for their adolescent children, especially obedience, aggressiveness and dependence. This response might reflect shifting expectations for sons and daughters in Turkey.

Fathers described that they were involved and spent time with their children as much as they could do regardless of gender. They also articulated that they had not different boundaries for their children, however, some of their daughters blocked fathers wish to be as close as they were in previous years. This reaction shows that fathers intend to have similar approaches to both daughters and sons, but their children's preference is a better reflection of the closeness and distance between fathers and children. Traditionally, fathers in Turkey show more affection to their daughters than their sons whereas they engage less with their daughter than their sons (Guneysu *et al*. 2017). Fathers in the current study narrated that they were emotionally closer to their daughters than their sons.

Physical contact and closeness were more visible when fathers were out with their children regardless of gender. In other words, fathers felt more freedom to be more physically expressive towards their children than at home. This distinctive difference shows that traditional gender parenting roles at home still influence fathers' relationships with their children in Turkey. This result is consistent with Kuzucu's (2011) study, which concluded that fathers'

involvement has increased, but the traditional gender stereotypes are still visible in Turkish families.

Fathers communicated with their daughters and sons when they were aware that their children had a problem, but they were slightly more involved with their sons. This different approach highlighted that the fathers enquires about their children's problems are still marginally noticeable in relation to gender in Turkey. However, the different communication approach did not indicate whether the fathers knew about their sons' problems more than that of their daughters. Cetin-Gunduz and Cok (2015) also reported that Turkish fathers perceived not difference in their adolescents' self-disclosure and requesting information. They showed that Turkish fathers attempt to understand their children's lives or difficulties regardless of gender.

This study suggests that some gender issues surrounding fathering are still visible, but Turkish fathers have adopted of more egalitarian parenting strategies no matter the gender of the child.

In conclusion, times are changing in Turkey and with them fathering behaviour. Turkish fathering practices, seem to be shifting from traditional conception of fathering to modern ones. Previous generations of fathers were more distant, more liable to use physical punishment when called upon and had less of an understanding of their child's behaviour, psychology and needs. Although elements of patriarchal attitudes remain dominant, these fathers struggled with issues of their children's freedom versus their protection; understood the importance of formal and informal relationships; tried to strike a balance between authority and closeness; worried about the extent of involvement and non-involvement in their children's lives. Much of this is not different from fathering challenges elsewhere in the world, however this study offers evidence of this. What do Turkish children say about their experiences of being fathered?

5.2 Fathering: The Adolescents' Perspectives

The previous section covered fathers' perspectives on their fathering in father-adolescent relationships. Adolescent children make up the other side of this relationship, so this part aims to explore 'fathering' from adolescent children's perspectives on their relationships with their fathers through a thematic analysing of interviews with adolescents.

This section contributes to the 'fathering' and 'fatherhood' literature in terms of the perceptions of adolescent children on the father-adolescent relationship. The analysis regards to the research question, **'what and how do Turkish fathers do when they parent their adolescents?'**.

The process of the thematic analysis for children's interviews is described, and themes for the 'fathering' from raw data of children's views are then displayed with children's reports.

5.2.1 Method and Analysis

Thematic analysis for the interviews of 14 adolescent children (8 boys and 6 girls aged between 14 and 18 years) was employed as the thematic analysis is a way of unveil the themes that emerged and conclude with comprehensive exploration of these.

The same thematic analysis process for the father's interviews as outlined in the previous part was also employed for the raw data of the children interviews. This included children's responses to the semi-structured interview questions about 'what do you think about your father's fathering?' and 'how does your father do parenting?'. Adolescent children described their fathers' behaviour along three dimensions that were:

- What are their fathers doing?

- How do their fathers do it?
- Why do they say their fathers do it?

Five themes emerged from the raw data of the children's interviews at the end of the same process of the father's interviews. Fathers and adolescents described fathering with both similar and different words, but their descriptions covered similar aspect of the themes, which emerged from the raw data of the father's interviews. Consequently, five similar themes came out from the raw data. The themes were:

- 'Overseeing' indicated 'be controlled' by their fathers
- 'Influencing' pointed out 'be changed' by their fathers
- 'Adjusting rules and boundaries' reflected 'communicating' with their fathers
- 'Problem-solving' represented 'being helped' by their fathers
- 'Socialising' inferred 'spending' time with their fathers.

Table 22: *Themes with their frequencies and percentage* in the interviews of adolescent children

Themes	**14 Child interviews**	
	Frequency	Percentage
Overseeing	52	28%
Influencing	51	28%
Adjusting rules and boundaries	28	15%
Problem-solving	27	15%
Socialising	22	12%
Total	180	100%

A number of the themes covered in the father's activities meant that those themes co-occurred with descriptions of the father-child interaction. Thus, the themes sometimes overlapped.

How many times children mentioned the themes in all interviews was also counted. Table 22 illustrates the themes with their frequencies and percentage of the interviews with adolescent children.

As can be seen in table 22, the themes adolescent children with the highest percentage in responses were about 'overseeing' and 'influencing' behaviour whereas they mentioned 'socialising' behaviour the least. Two or three themes could be seen together due to overlap, but the 'socialising' theme appeared with at least another theme. Hence, 'socialising' might have had a higher percentage if all father-child communication was articulated as 'socialising'.

5.2.2 Emergent Types

What follows in this section covers 14 adolescent children interviews through thematic analysis and provides five themes, highlighted by in detailed descriptions with samples from the interviews.

5.2.2.1 'Overseeing'

The main ingredients for fathering in 'overseeing' behaviour in children's reports were 'to check' and 'to control'. This could be undertaken by their fathers or others such as their mothers or their fathers' friends. Adolescents described that behind their fathers' behaviours were feelings of worry and protection about their lives in the present and in the future. In other words, overseeing behaviour was related to interventions to avert potential dangers in order to have a better life now and later on.

Adolescents in their mentions of ‘overseeing’ behaviour indicated that their fathers’ reasons included being safe, having good friends, not trusting others, being healthy, having a good education and spending less time on technology.

‘Overseeing’ behaviour was mainly perceived when they were outside including being out alone or with friends and school time. They also felt control at home where their fathers by checked on study time and phones.

Outside activities were sensitive topics for their fathers so that they had to get permission to go out alone or with friends. They sometimes got permission, but other times they were not allowed to go out. Not getting permission to go out or doing some activities outside was related to ‘trust’. Fathers not allowing them to go out was clue to their fathers not trusting anyone, except for family members. One child said that

> *He does not want me to talk to others, whom he does not know. So he tells me not to trust anyone except for my family due to my safety (Child-EsC, age 15, grade 10).*

The children reported that their fathers worried about their safety, believing that someone, except for family, might hurt them or would not protect them from possible dangers. Another example of a child’s perspective was that

> *He does not allow me to go out myself or with my friends. I go out with just him or my mom as he is afraid of wrong something happens to me when I am alone or with people who are not from my family. So he does not trust anyone as he wants to protect me… However, I want to do something just myself, so this bothers me (Child-RaT, age15, grade 9).*

Safety and trust were the main criteria for limiting their going out as their fathers attempted to protect them from any potential hazard. Their fathers trusted them, but their fathers did not trust others. This behaviour might show that their fathers gave them credit for going out independently, but other factors posed greater risks. Conversely, their fathers might not trust them as they might consider their child had enough ability to survive outside alone. In

this instance, fathers might not want to be hurtful by saying negative things about their children, so they might find another way by blaming others to not only convince their children that their concern were about others as well as keeping their relationships intact without using negative comments about them.

Some adolescents were not happy to only be able to go out with one of their relatives as they did not felt dependent and had no freedom to do whatever they wanted. It could be said that some of children did not want to be controlled, but they had no choice due to being dependent on their parents. This dependency might also indicate that their fathers employed some authority over them to follow their conditions.

The particular time for going out was the critical element for their fathers as the time reflected whether or not they could go out. Time divided into two parts, daytime and after dark. Most of the children mentioned that they were not allowed to go out after dark, but they were free to do something in the daytime. The main part of being at home after dark was that their fathers worried about children, given reasons about bad people appeared out after dark. One child said that

> *He does not allow me to go out after the dark by saying that paint thinner addicts appear in the dark and might hurt me, but I have more freedom in the daytime, so he protects me from dangerous people… but some of my friends' fathers allowed them to be out in the evening (Child-GgF, age 17, grade 11).*

While they had more freedom before dark as their fathers believed that dangerous people came out in the dark, they were aware that bad people might be out anytime so that their fathers might also worry them in the daytime. Their fathers might think that only dangerous people were out after dark, given that fewer people stayed out in the evening as most of people went home. It could be said that their fathers always worried about them, but their fathers were more sceptical about letting them go out in the dark.

Their fathers' behaviour was complained of comparing other fathers to own fathers. Some children were unhappy not to go out after dark as some of their friends were allowed out. From these complaints, it might be inferred that some fathers had more controlling behaviour over their children whereas other fathers gave children more freedom. However, these different behaviours were effect the father-child relationship as children wanted to have greater autonomy like their friends whose fathers had less restrictions.

Before going out, children had to convince their fathers they would be safe with trustful friends outside. This behaviour was based on informing their fathers about the place, friends, meeting time and returning time. One child said that

> *I have to get permission before going out and tell where/when I go, who will be with me and when I back. He wants to know what/where I am doing out as he worries about me and protects me from possible hazards… however, this restricts my activities. (Child-MeS, age15, grade 9).*

Young people described their fathers wanting to know every detail about their outside activities as knowing everything might enable fathers to have more awareness of their children's lives. Some children were unhappy about having to provide details of their activities to their fathers as they did not feel free. Permission seeking behaviour might also reflect that their fathers ongoing authority over them, but it was unclear that was only parental responsibility.

Their fathers warned them when outside to behave appropriately and be away from any possible dangers as their fathers wanted to protect them from anything related to negative outcomes, such as fighting, smoking and bad people. One child said that

> *When I go out, I ask my father for permission, and then he warns me to care for myself and have decent behaviour in order to make me away from wrong something. So he cares about my safety (Child-ShB, age 15, grade 9).*

It was claimed that their fathers repeated the same advice to them, but it was unclear whether they followed their fathers' suggestions as they were beyond their control when they were outside. It could be said that their fathers advised them about decent behaviour, but their fathers did not control them all the time.

Another sensitive topic was for 'coming back time', the time when they would back home, but sometimes they did not come back on time. Therefore, they always heard the exclamation of 'come back before the time that we agreed'. One child said that

> *I tell him when I go out with my friend, and he usually repeats 'do not come back late'. If I am late, he calls me as he worries about me (Child-BrC, age 15, grade 9).*

They thought their fathers worried about them so that their fathers would call them if they were late but this was also related to reinforcing authority if they did not stick to their agreement with their fathers. These circumstances indicate that fathers calls, if they did not come back at the agreed time, were due to worrying about them and maintaining authority over them.

Some teenagers narrated that their fathers were sometimes reluctant to call them when they were late, but their fathers worried about them and wanted to know why they were. In these examples, they reported that some of their fathers made their mother call them and get information. They also reported that their fathers did not contact them on the first call as their fathers wanted to show their authority over them on the second call if they did not follow their mother's request. One child said that

> *My mom firstly calls me when I am late, but sometimes I do not go home after the call, and then my father calls me to be at home soon. So he not only worries me but also exercises his authority over me (Child-OrK, age 17, grade 10).*

In these examples, fathers did not want to have any conflict with children and lose authority if children did not follow their fathers' requests. Thus fathers got help from mothers to show the authority over them at first attempt.

However, some of their fathers had to exercise other forms of authority to compensate for the failed authority approach. Their fathers probably knew children would not come back on time so that they contacted them in the second call to show a stricter authority over them. It might indicate that children perceived their fathers as having a higher authority position than their mothers.

It is essential to look at why fathers gave permission again if adolescents did not stick to the comeback agreed time previously. These instances highlight that some of their fathers were not restricted to rules and agreements as they did not keep to their agreement. This behaviour might also show children did not agree with their fathers' request, but they had to accept it as they had no choice. Consequently, they used the opportunity being outside as much as they could. It might also be inferred that some of children pretended they confirmed their fathers' authority over them.

Adolescent children knew that their fathers would be angry and speak loudly when they did not come back home at the agreed time. Thus they did not respond to their fathers' call although their fathers were probably getting more anxious as they did not know what happening. Some children narrated that their fathers requested extra contact information to reach them anytime, so they provided not only their friends' phone number but also their friends' parents' numbers. One child said that

> *He asks me the phone numbers of my friends and their parents when I go out with my friends. When I am late, he calls my friends if I do not attend his call (Child-AaT, age 16, grade 10).*

Getting extra contact details might make their fathers more relax, and less anxious as they could reach their children anytime even if they do not answer the call. With these behaviours, their fathers showed not only that they were under control, but also their fathers could reach them if anything happened. This behaviour reflects a mix of worry and a need to protect.

They usually spent time and did activities outside with their friends and so their fathers wanted to know what kind of friends they had. Some children were asked to provide simple details such as names and pictures, but other children were asked to provide more information including their friends' parents' job and the location of their home. Furthermore, some children were asked to make a meeting arrangement for their fathers and friends together. One child described telling her father considerable details about her friends

> *He wants to know my friends and asks me to show their pictures and give him some information about them as he wants to know what kind of friends I have (Child-RaT, age15, grade 9).*

Essential details of their friends might give their fathers some descriptions to reveal what kind of friends they had, but this was often not enough to indicate whether their friends were suitable for their fathers' criteria.

Children talked about the knowledge of their friends might not be enough for their fathers so that their fathers wanted to meet their friends. Consequently, they invited their friends home, or they introduced their fathers to their friends when they came across them in the street. After meeting, they were given a feedback from their fathers about whether or not their friends were suitable according to their expectations and values. One child said that

> *I introduce him to my friends as he wants to know them. He warns me about my friends if he perceives my friend is not suitable for his expectation and our family values (Child-BrC, age 15, grade 9).*

Some of their fathers assessed their friends by getting information and meeting their friends, but it was uncertain whether this process was sufficient. For example, one child complained about his father's opinion of his friend as he felt his father prejudged his friend before getting to know his friend well. It could be argued that some fathers made quick decisions based on superficial knowledge of their friends.

Some children were asked to make meeting arrangements at café to introduce their fathers to their friends as their fathers wanted to have informal

conversation and learn more about their friends in order to protect them from any potential danger. One child said that

> *He wants me to invite my friends to a café and talks about education and random topics. So he knows my friends very well as he wants to know what kind of friend I have in order to monitor my life and protect me from the wrong people (Child-SnB, age 17, grade 10).*

Whilst some fathers attempted to make a more informed decision about their friends by spending more time together, this might be related to fathers not trusting children's choices about friends. It may have been the case that their fathers wanted to get more detailed information about their children when they were getting more suspicious about children's social circles.

In children's descriptions, their fathers' criteria about their friends were various, but the common perspective was based on having appropriate friends, who were, for example, non-smokers, non-drinkers, no-fighter and who were not absentee for school. One child said that

> *He wants me to be away from bad habits such as smoke and fight so that he checks my friends from school and neighbour (Child-ShB, age 15, grade 9).*

Their fathers worried about children's future so that they attempted to keep them away from any potential hazards, which might affect their health and educational progression. It could be said that their fathers took preventive measure to guard against their child having adverse outcomes in the future.

Some adolescent children were asked for more details about their friends as their fathers also wanted to know about their friends' parents including their job and where they lived in order to contact them if needed. One child said that

> *He knows my close friends very well as I introduce them to him. Also, he asks my friends' fathers about what they do and where they live as he wants to reach my friends or their parents for emergency cases (Child-OrK, age 17, grade 10).*

Their fathers requested extra information about their friends' parents in case of an emergency, but this was also related to checking whether their friends' parents had similar values and expectations of their children. This particular strategy enable fathers to indirectly check their friends' parents while at the same time their fathers got extra information in case of an emergency.

Adolescents also reported that other monitoring behaviour was based on what they did at school so that their fathers often came to school for meetings with their teachers. This monitoring was not related to just education but also their child's behaviour at school. One child said that

> *He comes to school and talks to my teachers about my education and behaviour. After the communication, he tells me how the teacher reports to me and how I do better as he wants me to have a good education and job in the future (Child-RaT, age15, grade 9).*

Visiting school might benefit fathers so that they not only knew about their children's educational progress but showed their children were also under some control, given their father was monitoring educational and behavioural outcomes at school. This behaviour was also intend to be a means by which fathers indirectly showed how much cared children while visiting the school.

Some children mentioned that their fathers did not need to come to school as some teachers were their fathers' friends from whom their fathers got information without going to the school. One child said that

> *I do not share any problem at school but his friend, a vice-principle, calls him and tells everything. Then he asks me to tell all the story whatever happened at school (Child-OrK, age 17, grade 10).*

Some of their fathers did not make the extra effort to monitor their children as children were also under surveillance from their fathers' friends. This monitoring might also convey the message that children were always under control by fathers or others.

Children were also overseen by their fathers using their phone to check on whether or not there was something wrong in their lives. One child said

> *He always checks my phone including texts and calls. Therefore, he does not allow me to have the password on my phone. He says that he wants to know what happens in my life as he wants to intervene if something is wrong… however, I do not like it….he would take the phone if I had pin code (Child-RaT, age15, grade 9).*

Some of their fathers directly checked their children's phone and the children knew it, but children may perceive this as a privacy violation even if they let their fathers check because they did not like their fathers checking them. Checking phones was also another indicator that their fathers displayed authority over children in their assenting to fathers' requests without any hesitation. It could be asked whether these children might reject their fathers' requests. Some children might do it, but the consequence would be that their fathers would not allow them to use the phone if they disagreed.

Adolescent children described fathers' getting information from their mothers was also another way to monitor behaviour and find out what was happening in children's lives when they did not share anything with their father. One child said that

> *I usually talk to my mom, and she tells my dad some of them. Then he tells what he knows. So he indirectly shows I am under his control (Child-AaT, age 16, grade 10).*

Although their fathers got some information from their mothers, children did not know this until their fathers disclosed it. Some fathers might not share any information obtained from their mothers due to keeping secret the investigations, but some of their fathers shared information due to a desire to explicitly showing their enquiries. It could be said that some fathers showed that children were under control whereas some fathers controlled by keeping their efforts secret children due to an investigation to make enquiries in future.

Children reported that their health was important to their fathers so that their fathers attempted to keep them healthy or make them avoid unhealthy situations. One child said that

> *I talked to him about buying a protein-shake as I am doing wrestling and then he confirmed it but he changed his mind as he saw its side effects on the Internet. I know he worries about my health (Child-GgF, age 17, grade 11).*

In this case and similar cases, their fathers agreed to children's requests but some fathers reflected on whether they had made the right decision for children. This behaviour was also linked to caring for and protecting children from any potential hazards.

Some adolescents were told by their fathers that their health influenced their educational progress, so their sleeping time was monitored. One child said that

> *I usually engage with my phone almost one hour before sleeping. So he is angry at this behaviour as he wants me to sleep early and rest very well to have better education outcomes (Child-RaT, age15, grade 9).*

Their fathers considered their children's health and its outcomes together so that children's healthiness was controlled in order to prepare children for improved futures. Furthermore, considering healthiness might indirectly be a way of explaining children to focus on their homework rather than spending time on leisure activities.

Time on technology such as a laptop, computer, phone and tablet was also monitored as their fathers wanted them to engage with their education more. One child said that

> *I have 2 hours a day to use the computer. Sometimes I exceed this limit, and he warns in a friendly way me to turn it off as he wants me to focus on my education for having a good life in the future (*Child-OrY, age 15, grade 9*).*

Children were requested to balance leisure activities and doing homework, but some children mentioned that their fathers requested them to study more rather than spending their time with other things. It might be argued that

some of their fathers were primarily interested in engaged with educational outcomes rather than children's needs.

However, children were free to spend more time on technology in the summer as there was no school and educational requirements. They had no restrictions on sleeping time and spending time on technology. One child said that

> *He does not control me spending time on social media in the summer as the school is closed. So, he cares about my happiness and wants me to rest and enjoy my life in the summer (*Child-EnY, age 18, grade 11*)*

School and summer time were the main indicators for their fathers to monitor children's educational engagement. Whilst their fathers gave children more freedom in the summer than school time due to no official educational requirements, however, some children mentioned that they went to some courses in the summer to prepare themselves for next semester. This activity was also an indicator that some fathers kept monitoring children's educational progress during the summer.

To sum up, children reported that their fathers' overseeing behaviour appeared at home and outside through mainly checking and controlling them in order to be safe, be away from possible hazards and engage with their current responsibilities, especially education. They described these behaviours with their fathers' feelings of worry and protection about improved lives in the present and the future.

5.2.2.2 'Influencing'

'Influencing' behaviour in fathering appeared with explanations including notions of guiding, encouraging, convincing, supporting and preventing based on feelings of worry and to the need to protect children's lives in order

to enable them to make better choices in the present in order to guarantee their future.

Children were influenced by their fathers when understanding the consequences of making better choices now and in the future. They made sense of their fathers' opinions about meaning to relieve stress, study more, have better education to ensure obtaining a better job in the future.

Children were also aware that their fathers usually influenced them via direct verbal communication, but their fathers sometimes applied indirect messages to motivate them such as giving examples of someone's life story.

It was reported that the initial point of their fathers' advice about their behaviour showed what their fathers were thinking about their conduct or what their fathers expected from them. Their fathers' speeches would end when they understood their fathers' point. One child said that

> *He usually talks more, and his speeches are based on advice with a detailed explanation as he wants me to be sure to see his opinion (Child-RaT, age15, grade 9).*

Providing more detailed information was related to convincing children based on what their fathers thought, but this might also be an indicator that fathers were unsure of how to convince children via providing less information. In this context, fathers provided a cogent argument as they had awareness that their fathers did not want to be a failure. However, some children reported that their fathers did not convince them. Thus it could be said that their fathers sometimes failed to convince children to comply with their requests.

Children mentioned that explanations were the main part of their fathers' advice in their attending to demonstrate them that the world had light and and dark sides. One child said that

> *He tells everything with positive and negative features in order to show me the life and understand what I should do (Child-EeG, age 17, grade 10).*

Their fathers' approaches showed the possible positive and negative outcomes at the end of their actions. This approach might reflect that fathers need to depict to children the whole picture in order to make children consider their own decisions without any obvious forcible behaviour.

Children reported that their fathers usually respected their opinions, but some fathers responded with negative features in order to change their minds when their fathers were not happy with their decisions. One child said that

> *He respects my idea that he suggests to me to consider the positive and negative sides of the decision, but he usually shows me more dark sides if he is not happy with my choice (*Child-BtT, age 17, grade 11*).*

In this and similar cases, their fathers encouraged children to consider their own decisions by outlining various possible outcomes but showed more negative examples than positive one explicitly if fathers wanted to change children's decisions. Thus, their fathers attempted to manipulate children to do what their fathers wanted, but indirectly influenced children as if this was own child decision.

Discussing the dark side of issues was a motivation method for fathers to change or improve children's behaviour in what they regarded was better. Therefore, children were told that they might not find good opportunities in the future if they had low educational attainment. One child said that

> *He says that he will always support me, but he may financially not help me very well in the future. He encourages me to study more as he wants me to save my future, being financially independent (Child-GgF, age 17, grade 11)*

Being financially independent in the future was the main part what their fathers expected from children as they might financially be absent. This explanation might be an indicator that their fathers would not support children all the time.

Children were also showed the negative sides of their behaviour by their fathers when wanting to give an example of someone's life story in order to discourage what they wanted to do or what they were doing. This approach was based on sharing someone's experience with them due to either indirectly explaining their fathers' expectations or an indirect warning what behaviour was wrong. One child said that

> *He gives me messages about what he wants me to do, but some of them are indirect messages with examples of some people's experience in order to show me what he wants and what I must do. So he tries to convince me by showing evidence, not only his opinion (Child-RaT, age15, grade 9)*

With others' stories, their fathers indirectly discussed children some evidence of what would happen if they do not follow their fathers' requests, but occasionally their fathers mentioned what would happen if they follow the requests. Although their fathers usually demonstrated negative outcomes through the use someone's story, children were aware of their fathers' strategies.

Adolescents mentioned that their fathers' behaviour was also related to supporting them emotionally to make them feel better when they were disappointed, stressed or depressed about their educational progress. One child said that

> *When I am under stress due to the university exam, he approaches me as a friend and supports me by saying that I am determined. So he makes me feel better and help me to focus my education more (*Child-BtT, age 17, grade 11*).*

Fathers attempted to influence children's feeling better about educational development when they lost their motivation. This behaviour might be an indicator that their fathers attempted to boost their feelings while encouraging them to remain motived to their study.

Supporting children's educational efforts was linked by explaining about better opportunities in the future. However, sometimes these explanations

were not enough to motivate them. Therefore, their fathers employed a further step through guidance and studying together in order to get their children's motivation back on the educational track. One child said that

> *He advises me why I should study more and also teaches how I study more effective. Sometimes I do not want to study anymore so that he sits next to me and teaches me about any topic as a teacher. He motives me to focus on my educational progress again as he wants me to have a good education for a good job and better life in the future (Child-BrC, age 15, grade 9).*

Some fathers encouraged children to study more by not only giving logical and emotional reasons but also by studying together. Whilst some fathers convinced children about educational improvement through guiding and supporting approaches, it was unclear whether they were sufficiently expert to put children on the appropriate educational track.

Children were kept on educational track since they got into educational orbits. They described school attendance was an essential symbol of whether they were on track so that their fathers wanted assurance they were arriving at school on time. One child said that

> *He comes to my room in the morning and makes me get up to go to school as he does not want me to miss my course. So he cares of me and my future (*Child-EnY, age 18, grade 11*).*

Some of the fathers ensured children would not be late to school so that their fathers made them wake up for school in the morning. Although these children could be reasonable for getting up in time for school, but their fathers might think this was fathers' responsibility. This type of behaviour had potential to make children more dependent instead of preparing to be independent. It could be also said that some fathers kept children to be dependent on their fathers. However, this behaviour might also be associated with caring for children.

These educational supporting domains were also related to keeping children engaged in studying when they spent more time on social media on phones

and laptops. Children were forbidden from consuming time with anything in related to their education. One child said that

> *He stops me using a phone or playing games on a laptop as he wants me to spend more time on my study in order to have a much better score… but I do not want to study all the time (Child-ShB, age 15, grade 9).*

Fathers tended to force children to study more, but some children mentioned that they wanted to do some leisure activities instead of studying more. These different perspectives might reflect that some of their fathers focused primarily on educational development rather than children's requests. These children had free time to do leisure activities, but they preferred having more leisure time and less study time. These perspectives highlighted that fathers and children had different opinions about spending time on study and leisure activities.

Technological devices all needed to connect to Wi-Fi when children used the Internet. One child reported that his father employed another intervention method by removing the Wi-Fi router from the house until he finalised his education tasks. This child said that

> *When I have exams, he keeps a router in his office until I complete the exams. So he eliminates the possibility that I could fail the exams. My achievement for him is more important than other things as well as his necessities even if he cannot access the Internet (Child-BrC, age 15, grade 9).*

This case was different from other cases because their fathers usually applied restrictions related to reinforcing children's study, but it was not related to removing something, which their father also used. Thus this father gave up his opportunity to use the Internet due to placing importance on his child's educational success instead of his own leisure activities. Another example of restrictions involved, fathers requesting children to study in another room while their fathers watched TV in the living room. Most fathers enforced restriction around children study by removing children's leisure access, but these items were not related to fathers' leisure.

Children described that when their fathers failed to convince them in friendly or explanatory ways, their fathers employed authoritarian behaviour. This behaviour usually appeared in screaming a 'warning statement'. One child said that

> *He loudly speaks me to stop my behaviour, which he does not like, regarding less studying and coming home late. I am aware that he worries about me so that he wants to limit or change my behaviour… but this scares me (Child-GgF, age 17, grade 11).*

Some their fathers had predominantly authoritarian behaviour give children were not convinced by their fathers' friendly explanation and enforcement but this scared children instead of persuading them. Thus children were not happy with their fathers' shouting although children were aware that their fathers did it from sense of duty and care for their children's future. It might be possible that children did not follow their fathers' requests when their fathers were not around. It could be said that some fathers influenced children through loud warnings, but it was uncertain whether children were convinced.

Sometimes warning behaviour also did not work in changing their behaviour, so their fathers stopped warning them, but it was unclear whether fathers had this view of their own behaviour. One child said that

> *He warns me few times when I do wrong something such as smoke. If I keep doing it, he does not say anything at all. I am not sure he accepts it, but I am sure he would not warn me anymore as he knows he cannot change me (Child-SnB, age 17, grade 10).*

Some of their fathers failed to influence children's behaviour even if loud shouting was employed. This failure might be an indicator that these children did not perceive their fathers as the authority, but also that their fathers gave up their authority over their children. Furthermore, their fathers understood these children would not change so that they did not put their relationships further under strain. Some of their fathers persistently tried to influence their

children until they accepted their children would not follow their requests anymore.

After failing even with giving warnings a few times, some of their fathers still wanted to influence them. Therefore their fathers used their mothers to convince them of what their fathers wanted. One child said that

> *He requests me to do something such as studying more. If I do not do it, he asks me again. If I do not do it again, he requests my mom to talk to me about what I should do as he does not want to have any conflict with me (Child-RaT, age15, grade 9).*

Mothers were another way to influence children as fathers wanted to have a smooth relationship with children. This interaction might reflect that their fathers did not want to be perceived as the authority all the time, given their father requested their mothers take authority.

Adolescents mentioned that their fathers also influenced them to learning about religious doctrine and showed them in practice as a pray and fasting. Therefore, father-child interaction included teaching and practicing Islam. In this situation, children perceived their fathers as an imam who taught religious structures. One child said that

> *He has thought me many things related to religion. I think he is kind of imam for me. He answers my questions about how I can understand when I ask any question regarding Islam. He wants me to know everything about Islam even if I do not do them in practice (Child-SnB, age 17, grade 10)*

Religion was an essential issue for their fathers so that religious education was given to children from the basic level. Their fathers taught children religion at home even if their schools provided a religious course at each education level. It was approved that their fathers perceived religious education as their responsibility.

After teaching religious doctrine, their fathers expected them to do the religious requirements in practice so that they were encouraged to pray on time and become a religious person. One child said that

> *We are a religious family, and he always asks whether or not I pray. He encourages me to pray on time and not miss any pray time as he wants me to follow religious ceremonies very well; wants me to become good religious (Child-RaT, age15, grade 9).*

Some of their fathers had higher religious expectations so that they always monitored children's religious practice. It could be said that some of their fathers influenced children to become religious by reminding of children's religious duties.

Prayer five times a day might not be easy for children so that they were encouraged to pray at least of the blessed nights by going to the mosque with their fathers. One child said that

> *Blessed nights are significant for him, so we go to the mosque and pray together. He also encourages me to pray at other times as he wants me to have a religious soul (Child-SnB, age 17, grade 10).*

Most of the children did not mention their fathers praying five times a day, but that their fathers paid attention to worship at least on blessed nights. Thus specific days in religion were an opportunity for their fathers to be role model for children to do religious practices together.

Adolescents reported that their fathers did not force them to follow the religious rules in practice even if their fathers wanted their children to be religious in all daily circumstances due to no coercion in Islam. One child said that

> *He tells and shows what I must do and behave according to the religious rules as he wants me to become a religious person but he never forces me as there is no coercion in Islam (Child-MeS, age15, grade 9).*

Their fathers in a friendly manner encouraged children to do religious practices as their fathers wanted to keep children with religious souls. In

another case of forcing children to do religious practices, children might abandon religious doctrines when their fathers were not around. This approach would be an indicator that children might not pray what they believed due to fear of their fathers' coercion. Fathers wanted their children to choose to be religious with their own independent decisions as religion is between the individual and God.

Individual religious practice might not be together all the time due to availability at the same time. However, fathers and daughters did not go to the mosque together as they prayed in a different location in the mosque. So their mothers took daughters to a mosque instead of their fathers. In this context, fathers might have less effect on encouraging daughters to pray than sons due to gender in religious practice.

'Fasting' as the other religious practice was a prominent religious factor among Muslims so that their fathers encouraged their children to fast one month a year. The fasting was based on not eating and drinking anything from dawn to dusk. Children reported that their fathers always did fasting in Ramadan even if their fathers did not pray five times a day all the time. Fasting was a more sensitive religious practice than praying as prayers might be challenging to do five times a day till death, but fasting was just at a particular time and period. Fathers seemingly focus more on encouraging children to fast in Ramadan.

Children usually fasted in Ramadan with their families, and they did Ramadan ceremonies together such as 'sahur' and 'iftar'. However, some children did not fast some days in Ramadan when they had exams due to concern about the prepare need to exams on a full stomach. One child said that

> *I always fast in Ramadan, but my fathers do not allow me to fast when I have exams in that time (Child-ShB, age 15, grade 9)*

In this case and other similar cases, fathers encouraged children to focus on education more as children could compensate religious duties later on. In other words, children could not resit their exams next year as they had just one chance, but they could fast anytime whenever they were available. It could be said that education and religion were important to their fathers, but their fathers requested children to meet all education requirements and then do religious practices, especially fasting.

Children mentioned that their fathers used some words from Quran and hadith in order to show how a religious person might be. This activity was related to demonstrating decent behaviour including generously, morally and being considerate. One child said that

> *My father reads me some parts of the Quran or some hadiths, and then we talk about its messages to us how to be a good person in the world (Child-MeS, age15, grade 9)*

Reading religious documents gave their fathers some opportunities to not only teach children religion but also show children how to have good religious behaviour. Furthermore, children reported that these religious behaviours were related to not only worshiping to God but also behaving decently behaviour to everyone. Fathers influenced children to be religious due to placing important on having good behaviour towards God and other people.

To sum up, whilst adolescent children mentioned their fathers attempted to influence them to have better life and attitude in the present and in the future. The influence was mainly centre around their fathers' expectations and views.

5.2.2.3 'Adjusting rules and boundaries'

Fathering as 'adjusting rules and boundaries' behaviour from children's perspectives was usually based on protecting fathers' authority over children and building their relationships with boundaries. However, children

occasionally had no relationship boundaries and their communication resembled having an equal position to each other. Boundaries depicted that fathers were fathers, who had authority over children, whereas children were children, who had to follow whatever fathers requested. Managing behaviour intertwined with keeping the relationship at a distance and exerting authority over children in order to be respected. This behaviour was based on controlling and protecting children through the father's authority in order to keep the children in the 'respectful-zone' and the 'safe-zone'. In other words, 'adjusting rules and boundaries' was linked to worry about the child's behaviour; attempting to make decently behave rather than spoiling the child. Below, I provide detailed narration and analysis of the 'adjusting rules and boundaries' theme with children's voices.

Children mentioned that their fathers legitimated their behaviour by comparing their parenting to their own fathers' parenting in order to show their fathering much better. One child said that

> *He tells he does much better parenting than his own father such as communication, distance, supporting education, spending time together and having less restriction. However, he still keeps distance and authority to me. So he says I have much better circumstances now than his childhood (Child-EeG, age 17, grade 10)*

These cases, their fathers had much better fathering than their fathers' fathers, especially in relation to maintaining boundaries and roles although children wanted to have closer relationships with their fathers. According to children's reports, their fathers had fewer boundaries compared to their childhood. Their fathers appeared to have closer relationships with children than they did with own fathers.

Using comparison behaviour was also an opportunity to show the kind of behaviour their fathers expected from them. This gave them indirect messages regarding how to behave. One child said that

> *He talks about parenting in his childhood and does not like father-child relationships nowadays as children have less respectful behaviour to their fathers. He gives me a message how to behave and respect him*

in keeping the father-child relationship with boundaries (Child-EsC, age 15, grade 10).

Their fathers usually had much better fathering than their grandfathers, but some of their fathers still wanted to have similar childhood experiences in relationships with children. Their fathers modified the fathering more appropriately than their own fathers, but this did not cover all fathering behaviour, especially the negotiating boundaries making respect an maintaining authority. Furthermore, children were not happy with their fathers' boundaries even if their fathers had much better fathering than their grandfathers. These responses might indicate that children expected closer relationships than their current relationships with their fathers.

Children reported that they had to follow whatever their fathers did and expected, which their fathers perceived as a respect. So being respectful was associated with their authority figure and accepting their fathers' status was higher than their status in father-child relationships.

I must respect while he is talking and I must not criticise his opinion even if this is wrong for me. He wants me to follow his suggestion without hesitation as he wants to see I accept his authority (Child-SnB, age 17, grade 10).

The pattern of differential hierarchical status in their relationships with their fathers meant that 'adjusting rules and boundaries' also appeared in their fathers' authoritarian behaviour. Some children were expected to accept their fathers' higher status in the relationships without any critique. These responses indicate that some of their fathers might think they knew a great deal given experience and knowledge.

Most of the children reported that sometimes they did not see their fathers' point, but they must follow whatever their fathers requested. So, although children and fathers might have different views about the same topics, but the expectation was their behaviour reflected what their fathers wanted.

However, some children did not follow their fathers' advice so that their fathers employed financial punishment in order to reinforce their status. One child said that

> *He does not give me any pocket money for a few days when I do not follow his requests such as being out, studying and friends (Child-SnB, age 17, grade 10).*

For these examples, some of their fathers showed children that they were financially dependent on them when they cut off pocket money. Given this, it seems that some of their fathers offered two options to their children such as either being dependent or independent. However each option had a distinct disadvantage in that the former might make children be perceived as an unquestioning subordinate whereas the latter referred to being penniless to survive. Consequently, children admitted their positions as financial dependents on their fathers. It could be said that economic dependence on their fathers might be a weapon that their fathers deployed to ensure children see their fathers as having authority over them.

Adolescents described that their fathers changing their volume voice of their sentence styles and facial features to a disobedient child in order to display authority or remind them who had power. One child said that

> *He speaks loudly with an imperative sentence when I do not follow his suggestions. So he does not want to lose his authority over me… but his sound scares me (*Child-EnY, age 18, grade 11*).*

Their fathers' sound volume and sentence structure were indicators of the extent of authority they had over children. Imperative sentences showed what their fathers wanted responses from their children without any hesitation but also a raising of voice strengthened their fathers' embodied expressions reiterating boundaries between children and their fathers. However, most children mentioned that yelling orders or directions made children scare and unhappy.

Children also described in detail their father's behaviour as revealed by an angry face when they did not follow the set rules, which their fathers made. General features of an angry face appeared with knitted eyebrows, making a wry face, going sour, making the eyes bigger and head shaking. One child said that

> *He shows his anger by making his eyes bigger and shaking his head one side to the other side (Child-MeS, age15, grade 9).*

An angry face indicated that their fathers were unhappy with children's behaviour, and this was their fathers' way of reminding children of whose rules were legitimate; often without any word. Furthermore, their fathers stopped showing love to children by refusing to talk to children a possible way to affect children in a psychological manner. It could be said that their fathers replaced 'love' with 'anger' in order to make children follow their rules.

Although children understood on angry face, sometimes they did not catch any meaning as their fathers did not say anything about why they were angry. One child said that

> *He goes sour a while when he is unhappy with or angry with my behaviour, but he does not explain what I have done wrong. So he wants me to understand and correct my mistakes without his verbal warning (Child-BrC, age 15, grade 9)*

Their fathers' facial features indicated something was wrong in children's behaviour, but this did not indicate any specific behaviour as their fathers cut off communication. Their fathers might warn children a few times beforehand so that their fathers stopped warning children, but some children did not understand what was wrong. This approach might indicate that their fathers gave up warning children anymore but waited for them to understand what their fathers expected and decided.

So far, I have looked at the processes associated with 'adjusting rules and boundaries' that their fathers used to enforce their authority over children in

father-child relationships. In the following part, I demonstrate how and when their fathers stopped exerting authority over children.

Teenagers mentioned that their fathers approached them in a friendly way and equally without any authority and any boundaries. This approach was based on caring about children's feelings, opinions and needs. One child said that

> *He asks my opinion as he wants to do something related to our family or me as he cares about my opinion and me… It makes me happy (Child-RaT, age15, grade 9).*

In instances such as these, their fathers sometimes put children at the centre of father-child relationships in order to give children a voice to express views on something related to their lives. Their fathers indirectly showed children not only how much they cared for children, but also that they were aware of how much any change would affect children lives. However, children did provide example of their fathers asking their opinion on something not related to children. This behaviour could indicate that their fathers talked to children about issues regarding children's lives.

Children also indicated their fathers' behaviour was a mix of friendships and authority. Therefore, it would be wrong to interpret if a father's behaviour as thought it just one category. One child said that

> *He sometimes approaches as a friend but sometimes as an authority. His overall behaviour is between friend and authority (*Child-EnY, age 18, grade 11*)*

In this case and other similar cases, children struggled to describe the limits to their father's boundaries and equality within their relationship as their fathers sometimes built boundaries whereas other times the boundaries were erased. Their fathers appeared to have no stable approach in relation to their children as they had different attitudes at different times on the same topics and the same children's behaviour. This might reflect that their fathers' fathering was fluid.

The vital point of changing fathering attitudes was related to how children reacted to their fathers' requests. In other words, friendship and authority depended on whether or not children accepted their mistake or children corrected their mistake or children showed their regret to their fathers. One child said that

> *His behaviour depends on my behaviour. For example of coming home late after the agreed time; he appreciates if I apologise to him for my mistake and say I will not do it again but he is aggressive if I argue with him while I explain why I am late (*Child-BtT, age 17, grade 11*).*

These contexts, their fathers had unstable behaviour, but children also had erratic behaviour toward their fathers. Therefore, children were affected by their fathers' unstable fathering with boundaries and rules. However, no child's statements explained why they had unstable behaviour in relation to their fathers' similar requests. Children followed their fathers' requests even though they might not agree with the requests, but they felt obliged to do it due to their fathers' authority over them. Consequently, some children responded to their fathers erratically behaviour, but it was unclear why children sometimes confirmed or sometimes complained. Furthermore, the unstable behaviour of children and their fathers might be related to personal issues.

Fathers usually made boundaries for their children, but sometimes in response, children made boundaries with their father even if their fathers attempted to shift the father-child boundaries with friendship and more communication. One child said that

> *He criticises me that I only communicate with him when I need some money. He is my father and is not my friend so there should be some boundaries between us (Child-AaT, age 16, grade 10).*

Most of the children wanted to have closer relationships with their fathers, but some daughters preferred having boundaries with their fathers like the cases above. The reason for their communication was based around pocket money

as their fathers were perceived as the breadwinner and householder. This communication indicated their fathers were not always successful building friendlier relationships with daughters due to perceptions of traditional father-child boundaries. It is important to note that some daughters refused to have a closer relationship with their fathers whereas all sons were happy without boundaries in relationships with their fathers. It appeared that gender might be a critical factor in father-child relationships, especially having closer or distant relationships.

To sum up, adolescent children sometimes had more equal relationships with their fathers, but even these relationships were not sometimes without boundaries. Boundaries became more visible when adolescent children did not follow their fathers' request and expectations.

5.2.2.4 'Problem-solving'

Fathering with 'problem-solving' behaviour from children's perspectives firstly started with attempting to understand their problems and then working to solve the problems by supporting them. This behaviour was based on showing love to children and that no matter was what kind of problem they had, their fathers were always there to help and support them. The whole picture of 'problem-solving' behaviour was a combination of worrying and protecting about children's current lives, especially their emotional wellbeing.

Children mentioned that their fathers did not approach them if they were having a conflict with their fathers, but their fathers immediately approached them if the problem was not related to fathers.

Children were also aware that their father wanted to see them being happy so that their fathers attempted to reduce the impact of the problem by showing love and supporting children as a counsellor. The former was based

on hugging, holding hands and telling how much their fathers love them while the latter was related to encouraging them to recognise their own strengths.

As a first step, I demonstrate the process of understanding children's problems and then move to show the process of solving the problems.

Children mentioned that their fathers compared their behaviour with their moods in the past and the present in order to reach some conclusion regarding their psychology. This approach was on based on checking whether children had typical behaviour. One child said that

> *He understands when I am upset. Then he says that my behaviour is unusual and asks me to tell why I am sad (Child-GgF, age 17, grade 11).*

In these circumstances, having different behaviour when contrasted against other days was the main way for ascertaining if something was wrong in their children's lives. Their fathers seemed to have an instinct for comparing children's moods, but it was unclear whether their fathers fully understood children's problems.

Some children shared their problems with their fathers, but at other times their fathers had no clue about their unusual behaviour as they did not want to share their problem with their fathers. However, their fathers still attempted to understand their problems by persisting in asking what was wrong. One child said that

> *When I look sad, he asks me what my problem is. Sometimes I tell him but sometimes not. If I do not tell him, he attempts to convince me to share my problem a few times more as he wants to help me and does not want to see me unhappy (Child-MeS, age15, grade 9).*

Understanding the reasons for unusual behaviour depended on whether children shared their problems with their fathers or others, but on occasion it still required their fathers to directly ask what kind of problem their children had. However, their fathers sometimes failed to get any response as that children denied their fathers' diagnosis of their moods. This situation might

indicate that either their fathers had the wrong diagnosis or children did not want to share their problems with their fathers. The former might be a false alarm, but the latter might raise the question of whether children ought to share everything with their fathers.

Although adolescents did not always share their problem, some of their fathers found a clue from their behaviour. A child mentioned that his father visited his room at night to listen to his talk in his sleep

> *I do not tell him my problem, but he knows I have my problem as I talk in my sleep. When he hears my talk in my sleep, he holds my hand in the morning and then asks what my problem is. He worries about me and listens to my talk in my sleep (*Child-OrY, age 15, grade 9*).*

In this case above, his father found a way to identify his problem as he talked in his sleep. This behaviour might be evidence that his father cared about him, given his father listened to him in the night instead of sleeping. It could be also inferred that some fathers sacrificed themselves to find out children's problems, given the care and worrying about them. Furthermore, another important point in this specific example was his father's friendly approach encouraging him to talk about his problems.

Children narrated that their fathers were interested in learning about them or things around them, but their fathers were mainly interested in supporting them with unconditional love no matter their problem as their fathers were always there to help and support them. One child said that

> *I usually stay in my room when I am sad. He comes to my room and hugs me. He says he will do whatever he can do for me. So he always is with me and protects me (Child-AaT, age 16, grade 10).*

In these situations, their fathers focused on children' feelings and then wanted to know more details about their children's problems so as to support their children. It is important to note that their fathers did not force children to share their problems as their fathers were able to show some support by touching, holding and hugging children. Furthermore, their fathers visited their children's room and preferred talking to them there. Children's room

might be perceived as an exclusive location for children whereas a living room might be perceived as a public or fathers' space in the house. These different locations might reflect that their fathers perceive they have less authority in their children's rooms. It could be also said, however, that their fathers might want to make children feel less concerned authority as their fathers talked to their children in their room instead of in the living room.

Having good educational results was important for their fathers, given their belief in this as ensuring having a better job in the future, but their child's happiness was more important than education as fathers wanted them to be happy face. One child said that

> *I become agitated when I get a low score from any course. He sits next to me and tells the score does not matter to him as the most important thing in his life is my happiness (Child-EeG, age 17, grade 10).*

Fathers tried to be physically closer to children when they figured out their children had some challenges. This behaviour seemed to reveal that fathers friendly approach was intended to put children into the centre of their communication while at the same time boosting their children's feelings. However, some fathers kept physical distance to children even though there were having friendly communication. These differences highlighted that some of their fathers had equal communication position to children when children had some problems, especially education, however some of their fathers had more physical closeness to children whereas some of their fathers maintained the same psychical distance.

The role of support in 'problem-solving' behaviour appeared not only at home but also out of home such as school and hospital. One child mentioned that her father encouraged and supported her to go to the hospital due to concern about her healthy

> *I faint at the sight of blood so that he comes to a hospital with me when I am ill. He holds my hand and shows his support to me while getting blood drawn. He cares about my health and me (Child-RaT, age15, grade 9).*

In this instance and in similar cases, fathers supported children to be calm and relaxed, indirectly giving the message that their fathers would be there and help children if anything was wrong. Furthermore, there might be another indirect message that fathers would be present whatever happened to children. Fathers mainly showed what they felt instead of talking about feelings, but its results depended on what children understood about their fathers' behaviour.

Children mentioned that having their fathers with them as well as their support was a pivotal, but sometimes in their own communication with their fathers, they did not show this clearly as they perceived their fathers as an authority. So some of their fathers attempted to dissolve this boundary by behaving as a friend or an elder brother. One child said that

> *He always supports me in whatever I have done, and he helps me to solve my problem by talking to me as an older brother (Child-ShB, age 15, grade 9).*

As mentioned earlier, fathers used a friendly approach when their children had some issues, but the perception of this approach depended on children. Thus, some children perceived their fathers as a friend, but others perceived their fathers as brotherly. These children described 'brother' being closer than a friend. These responses might reflect that some children perceived kinship was the more dominant feature in terms of being close to each other. Consequently, there was no doubt that their fathers approached children without any boundaries when children had some challenges.

However, the father-child boundary appeared again if there was a conflict as their fathers did not want to lose the authority over them or expected children to accept their authority. One child said that

> *He shouts at me when I do not do what he wants. I also shout at him when he does. I stay in my room while he is in the living room. He does not talk to me until I start communication with him because he wants me to accept his authority over me (Child-SnB, age 17, grade 10).*

Children must extend an olive branch to their fathers in order to resume their communication again when there was a conflict with their fathers. This approach might indicate that their fathers wanted children to accept that their fathers were of a higher social position than children. In other words, their fathers built father-child boundaries when children did not follow their fathers' requests. It could also be said that children were supported and helped whenever they had problems except for problems regarding their fathers' directions.

To sum up, adolescent children perceived more support, care, closeness, protection and equality of relationship while their fathers helped them to solve problems. The 'problem-solving' increased the father-child interactions.

5.2.2.5 'Socialising'

'Socialising' behaviour was based on spending time with children not only at home but also outside. This behaviour appeared in activities together such as listening to music, watching TV, shopping, walking, fishing, going out to dinner, going to the mosque, visiting relatives, telling jokes with each other and going to the car showroom. These activities were a focus on children's happiness due to fathers' concerns about children's feelings and supporting their resilience.

'Socialising' behaviour always combined with other fathering categorised behaviours as doing activities together covered all father-child interaction. In other words, fathering behaviour involved all 'socialising' behaviour due to spending time together.

Children mentioned that their fathers offered them some activities to do together when they were bored at home. One child said that

> *We go out and do some social activities together as I am bored. He cheers me up (Child-MeS, age15, grade 9).*

Social activities broke up daily routines and focused on making children feel much better as children got bored with daily activities. However, these activities did not happen all the time as they were dependent on available time and children's needs. Some of social activities were not routine events nor did they happen all the time.

Adolescents talked about their fathers sometimes not liking what they did with them, but they kept doing it as their fathers cared about their feelings and happiness. One child said that

> *We go to a game centre arcade, cinema and café because he likes going or being there. Also, we sometimes do shopping together even if he does not like it because he wants to see me happy (*Child-BtT, age 17, grade 11*).*

There were similar cases like those above that children's happiness was the most important things for their fathers as their fathers did not want to see them unhappy. One child said that

> *I like doing shopping with my father as he always confirms whatever I like to buy. He is happy when I am happy (Child-MeS, age15, grade 9).*

Children and their fathers had similar and different entertainments preferences, but their fathers attempted to be with children as they wanted to spend some time together. This approach might also reflect that their fathers sacrificed their ambitions to put children first. In other words, some of their fathers put children into the centre of family lives.

Children also spent time with their fathers at home doing leisure activities such as watching TV in order to have social interaction with each other. One child said that

> *We sometimes watch some comedy movie at home. So this makes us happy. We also tell each other some jokes in the movie, and this makes laugh a lot (Child-BrC, age 15, grade 9)*

Doing activities together not only made children have a good time but also provided some opportunities to talk about random topics with each other.

Children underlined they usually had no boundaries with their fathers while doing leisure activities. These moments of social interaction appeared to eliminate the traditional father figure in father-child relationships as their father did not enact rigid boundaries to children.

Teenagers mentioned that keeping in touch with their relatives was important to their fathers so that they went to their relatives' house and spent time altogether.

> *We go to relatives together. He wants me to be social with others and keep communication with relatives (*Child-EnY, age 18, grade 11*).*

In spending time with extended family, their fathers attempted to be a role model for children, in modelling better relationships with others, especially relatives. Their fathers wanted children to have communication links with people, whom their fathers knew and trusted, so their fathers encouraged children to visit relatives together. It could be said that their fathers indirectly conveyed whom children should communicate with.

Spending time together was also perceived as meditative as it involve regarding relaxing and enjoyment when children needed to rest after intensive work. One child said that

> *We go fishing together to get pleasure and relax after intensive work and study (Child-SnB, age 17, grade 10).*

Children and their fathers paid attention to only one thing to get rid of any hardships for a while and this was a social activity between children and their fathers that both of them enjoyed. This kind of activity might also indicate that their fathers were aware of children needs in social interactions for relaxing and recovering for more studying.

Having free time to do something together was a crucial primary factor for both children and their fathers, but doing activities depended on the available time of both of them. One child said that

We go out together for shopping or just walking after his work or at weekends (Child-RaT, age15, grade 9).

Fathers typically spent time with children after their work, but children also had limitations on their availability. Most weekdays were not suitable for both of them due to work and school commitments but the evenings on weekdays were sometimes suitable for doing something together. Children and their fathers had more available time on the weekend so that they usually did some activities together during this time.

Social activities happened at home or outside on weekdays or weekend indicated where social interaction took place. Weekday activities usually happened at home whereas weekend activities generally happened outside. It could be said that their available free time was constructed by their daily duties so that they had more opportunities together on the weekend.

To sum up, adolescent children were happy to be with their fathers as their fathers put them at the centre of the relationship. Fathers' worry and feeling of protection were disguised by doing activities together.

5.2.3 Summary

Children reported that their safety was a substantial issue for their fathers and, as a result, their lives were restricted and controlled, and they were unhappy with this. Children were aware of their fathers' strategies, but they sometimes did not complain about them as they believed their fathers always considered what was best for them. Adolescents softened the boundaries and increased their closeness with their fathers when they remained in the territory of their fathers' expectations and rules. Children reported that the boundaries in the relationship melted away when their fathers engaged with their problems, and they spent time together in social activities.

5.2.4 Discussion

The children were satisfied with close and equal relationships, but they complained about restriction of their lives, given their fathers' expectations and rules. However, they were aware that their fathers were concerned for them and desired the best for them. Four items emerged in the children's interviews with similar themes to those that emerged in the fathers' interviews: c*onflict*, t*oday and yesterday*, r*eligion, gender*

Conflict

Conflict over children's use of time was an element that diminished the father-adolescent relationship. Children in the current study reported that they disagreed about friends, behaviour towards their fathers, education, clothes, autonomy and using technology. The conflict topics were in concordance with the summary of the literature on parent-adolescent conflict in Turkey in Ucanok and Gure's (2012, 11) study, except for technology. This result indicated that contemporary social phenomena creates new conflict items between fathers and adolescents.

Adolescents in the current study narrated that fathers firstly advised children to convince them of their compliance with fathers' requirements when they had a disagreement, and their psychological control and loud talk followed if advice does not work. Karagoz (2016) also found that advice was the most frequent route for Turkish fathers when their adolescent did not follow their requests. It showed that persuading adolescents with suggestions is the most common track for Turkish fathers when there was a conflict.

Their fathers wanted to keep authority whereas they preferred to have more autonomy as they grew. Consequently, these different expectations created more visible conflict between fathers and children. Aroian *et al*. (2013) also claimed that adolescent hassles with parents increased over a three-year

study interval. It showed that disagreement between fathers and children was more visible when children were older.

The adolescents mentioned that they mainly talked with their fathers about education, but few adolescents spoke about personal issues regarding date and stress. Smetana *et al*. (2006) also found the similar results in that adolescents talked to parents less about personal issues. Guzcu-Yavas (2012) also reported that Turkish adolescents seemed not to talk about their future plans with their parents due to coercion. Adolescent children in the present study also said that they avoided talking to their fathers about any topic, which might cause disagreement, as arguments made them unhappy. It showed that adolescent talked to their fathers about 'safe matters', which were less likely to be emotionally stressful. Sweward (2013) found similar avoidance behaviour

They also reported that some of their fathers wanted to get to know their children's peers due to a desire to protect children from bad friends, but some of the adolescents were against their fathers deterring who their friends should be due to interference in their private lives and limiting their freedom. Another study in Turkey found similar results that over half of adolescent children confirmed their parents' intervention in relationships with their friends whereas less half of adolescent children complained about it (Buyuksahin-Cevik and Atici 2008, 47). These different adolescents' views indicated that adolescents did not have a particular point for the disclosure of peers. This uncertainty might be related to having different kinds of requests revealing the relationships with friends.

Their fathers were also perceived as less easy to communicate with, which was related to friendliness, respect and open-mindedness. Sefer (2006) also supported the difference and that Turkish adolescent children described their fathers as more judgmental and less affectionate than their mothers. Thus, adolescent children in the current study mentioned that they talked to their

mother about some of their problems rather than to their fathers. The disclosure of adolescents indicated their different perceptions of the closeness to their parents i.e. perceiving mothers closer than fathers (Steinberg & Silk 2002; Sefer 2006; Shehata & Ramadan 2010; Bronte-Thinkew *et al*. 2006).

The finding of more complicated communication in the current study is in concordance with other studies over the world in which adolescent children report more easy communication with their mothers than their fathers (Levin & Currie 2010; Brooks *et al*. 2015; Shek 2010). However, Brooks *et al*. (2015) underlined that there was a significant positive trend in easy communication between fathers and adolescents across 32 countries in Europe and North America from 2002 to 2010. It indicated that fathers were still behind comparing with the degree of mothers' communication with their children.

'Fathering' today and yesterday

Adolescent children in Turkey perceived their fathers as an authority and a breadwinner two decades ago (Telsiz 1998, 72). Teenage children in the current study described their fathers not only as the traditional symbols of authority, a head of household and breadwinner but also as modern father figures, e.g. compacting friend, brother and counsellor. It showed that new forms of fatherhood are appearing in Turkey.

Adolescent children in the current study mentioned that they spoke to their fathers for information and economic support, and sometimes emotional and relational issues. However, Steinber and Silk (2002) reported adolescent children's perceptions of the father figure almost two-decades ago that the adolescents approached their fathers for information and material support. The change in perceptions of father figures indicated that fathers are felt to be more emotionally involved with their adolescent children nowadays.

There was no corporal punishment, but their fathers kept themselves away from children or did not show their love to children when children did not follow the fathers' expectations. It showed that physical punishment was replaced with emotional punishment.

Religion

The adolescents in the current study said that there was not coercion in Islam so that their fathers did not force them to be religious, but support and encouragement for religious outcomes were main ingredients in the father-child relationships. Arslan (2006) similarly reported that Turkish adolescents' religiosity was affected by their parents' assistive behaviour, but not control. It showed that fathers did not have authoritarian behaviour on their children while requesting their children to do religious practices.

The adolescents in the current study narrated that one of religion expectations was to be good a child to their parents. Thus, religious expectations emphasises exemplary behaviour in parent-child relationships regarding respecting parents (Lokman 31/14; Ahkaf 46/15; Meryem 19/14), compliment (Isra 17/23; Bakara 2/83) and having a good relationship with parents as a religious virtue (Tirmizi, Birr, 1, 1905).

The importance of a religious role model was emphasised by adolescents in the current study. Sahin (2007) also reported that Turkish adolescents' religiosity were affected in positive ways by enjoying spending time with their fathers, receiving support, help and tolerance from their fathers. It showed that there was a positive relationship between closeness and a religious role model.

Due to a religious responsibility, protection of children was denoted as religious requirement in the narrations of adolescents in the present study. Snider *et al*. (2004) reported that protection was related to religiosity. It

showed that religion had a positive impact on protective behaviour in father-child relationships.

It could be suggested that the reports of children in this study indicate that religion contributed positively to the father-child interaction regarding feeling of protection, closeness, modelling behaviour and spending time together.

Gender

Adolescents in the current study indicate that boys had more conflict about autonomy with their fathers than girls. Ucanok and Gure (2012, 17) reported that Turkish adolescent girls had less conflict with their fathers than boys in Turkey. Karagoz (2016) also declared that Turkish adolescent girls and boys had different conflict matters. The results indicated that gender was a visible element in conflict issues between fathers and adolescents, and adolescent boys perceived more conflict than adolescent girls.

Adolescents in the present study indicated that girls tended to disclose their daily activities more than boys. Cetin-Gunduz and Cok (2015) also found that Turkish adolescent girls revealed more to their fathers than adolescent boys. The results showed that according to the children's reports, fathers knew more news about their girls than boys.

Some daughters refused to have a close relationship with their fathers whereas all sons were happy without reservation in relationships with their fathers. It indicated that gender might be a factor in the father-child closeness.

Girls were restricted more than boys via control. Other Turkish studies also found that adolescent girls perceived more paternal control than boys. (Cetin-Gunduz & Cok 2015; Dinn & Sunar 2017). The results showed that monitoring was related to gender.

Furthermore, on adolescent boys, psychological control was more visible in the narrations of adolescents in the present study. Previously, Dinn and Sunar (2017) reported that Turkish adolescent girls perceived less paternal psychological control than boys. The diverse approach for gender might indicate that fathers perceive different stereotypes for boys and girls. Uney (2014) reported that Turkish girls were more emotional than boys. It showed that fathers more gently approached girls than boys as they perceived girls as more fragile.

There was no different approach between gender and activities at home. This result was in concordance with Hakoama and Ready (2011)'s study that there was not significant correlation between gender and father-as-a-role-model rating. It showed that fathers and children spent time together at home regardless of gender. However, adolescents in the current study indicated that boys had more liberty for outside and outdoor activities than girls. Yavas (2012a) also reported that Turkish adolescent boys had more freedom than girls when socialising outside. These results were also consistent with Balaguru (2004) study that Indian-American girls had less exemption for outdoors activities than boys. Furthermore, adolescents in the current study indicated that the outside physical activities with their fathers, for example, football and fishing were for boys. The results showed that gender issues were visible in outdoor activities.

Whilst their fathers knew girls' friends' basic details such as name and pictures, their fathers met boys' friends and spent some time together outside. Here, the level of fathers' involvement with their children's friends might be related to the friends' gender, i.e. boys had more male friends and thus the latter were more easily met than would be the girl friends of their daughters.

They sometimes prayed together at home, but girls did not pray with their fathers in the mosque due to religious norms. Gender was partly a handicap

in practice together at mosque, but there was not gender issue in other practices regarding fasting ceremonies and reading the Quran.

In conclusion, ‘fathering’ came out through perceptions of protection and autonomy. Equality, being a role model and closeness also emerged although the patriarch was still visible in the relationship. Religion increased not only shared interests between fathers and children but also the father-child interaction. Conflict was more visible as children grew older. Fathers were still behind the mother’s degree of communication even if fathers had easy communication with children. Girls perceived less conflict and psychological control than boys whereas boys perceived more liberty for outside activities than girls.

5.3 Discussion: Father and child interviews compared

The interview reports of fathers and adolescents were separately analysed in the previous parts. Both reports are now analysed together to compare their perspectives.

This section contributes to the ‘fathering’ and ‘fatherhood’ literature relating to the perceptions of fathers and adolescent children of the father-adolescent relationship. The analysis covers the research question, ‘what do Turkish fathers do when they parent their adolescents?’. The results also provide an opportunity to compare the perspectives of fathers and adolescent children side by side.

The themes for ‘fathering’ from the raw data of the interviews are together analysed and then discussed in this part in order to comprehend ‘fathering’ from the perspectives of both fathers and adolescents.

The same thematic analysis process was employed as that for the raw data of father and child interviews. Fathers and adolescents described fathering with similar and different words, however their descriptions covered shared ground and consequently, five similar themes emerged.

The amount of times fathers and children mentioned themes was also counted. Table 23 illustrates the themes with their frequencies and percentage in the interviews.

As can be seen in the table 23, fathers talked about ‘overseeing’ behaviour slightly more than ‘influencing’ behaviour whereas children talked about ‘overseeing’ and ‘influencing’ behaviour to same extent. It could be said that ‘overseeing’ behaviour was more dominant in fathers’ descriptions than children’s. Nevertheless, this might show that both fathers and children had

common perceptions of what constitutes fathering. The detailed comparative results are presented in the following.

Table 23: *Themes with their frequencies and percentage in the interviews of fathers and adolescents*

Themes	**18 Father interviews**		**14 Child interviews**	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Overseeing	76	32%	52	28%
Influencing	70	28%	51	28%
Adjusting rules and boundaries	45	18%	28	15%
Problem-solving	30	12%	27	15%
Socialising	25	10%	22	12%
Total	246	100%	180	100%

'Overseeing': Fathers and children classified 'overseeing' behaviour using similar expressions such as 'check' and 'control', but they had different perceptions. Fathers were happy with what they did whereas children were unhappy about what being checked or controlled. Moreover, fathers preferred being more 'overseeing' whereas children preferred having greater freedom, although both perceived fathers as being in a higher authority position. Interestingly, adolescent children were more conscious of their fathers' 'overseeing' behaviour than fathers believed they were.

'Influencing': Here both fathers and children mentioned 'influencing' to the same extent. Fathers explained 'influencing' behaviour as the provision of rewards and forms of psychological control, whereas children described it as exercising authority and friendly behaviour. Fathers were aware that their behaviour influenced their children's behaviour as a role model, but children chose to copy only those aspects of their fathers' behaviour that they liked. Showing the light and dark sides of opinions was a typical approach to

influencing children together with having a cogent argument. However children were aware that their fathers manipulated and distorted matters, e.g. exaggerating the extent of danger arising from social media use. In the 'influencing' behaviour category, fathers were deemed to be more talkative than children. Fathers were unhappy when adolescent children ignored their authority whereas children were unhappy as their fathers forced this on them.

'Adjusting rules and boundaries': 18 percent of fathers referred to behaviours that can be grouped under 'adjusting rules and boundaries' whilst 15 percent of the children referred to this. Fathers and children utilised different adjectives for describing 'adjusting rules and boundaries' behaviour, but both groups spoke of physical and emotional closeness and distance. Fathers oscillated between authority and friendship but children's perceptions of this shifting were that their fathers were not consistent in their approaches to them. Consequently, fathers and children agreed that fathers employed a mix of authority and friendship behaviour. Fathers sometimes expressed their authority over their children by alternating between 'love' and 'anger'. Fathers regarded this as boundary-setting but children perceived it as emotional painful.

'Problem-solving': 12 percent of the fathers mentioned 'problem-solving' behaviour whereas 15 percent of the children referred to this. Both fathers and children emphasised the importance of 'showing love' and 'support', but the children were more satisfied when their fathers were affectionate to them. Although emotional and physical closeness were revealed, adolescents waited for their fathers to take the initiative.

'Socialising': Here, 10 percent of fathers mentioned 'socialising' whereas 12 percent of the children did. 'Socialising' activities were enabled by their available time, but this availability usually depended on fathers' work schedules. Fathers mainly organised the activities. The children focused on their enjoyment whereas fathers engaged not only for fun but also for other

aims such as being a role model. Both fathers and children did not consider that daily routines like dinner was a social activity even if they spent such time together.

To sum up, fathers' behaviour depended on time and place as well as the interactions between them and their children so that 'fathering' was a complex interplay between fathers, children and circumstances. Fathers preferred having more control and authority over their children, but children preferred having more freedom and so children were unhappy with restrictions and strict rules. The children perceived their fathers as having more authoritarian behaviours, while fathers perceived themselves as having more friendly behaviours.

The following overarching themes emerged from an analysis of the reports of fathers and adolescents: Remaining and changing 'fathering', protection and worry, being a role model.

Remaining and changing 'fathering'

Fathers and adolescents in the current study reported that fathers firstly advised children to outline the fathers' expectations. Karagoz (2016) also found that advice was the most frequent route for Turkish fathers while their adolescent did not follow their requests. It showed that advice is the most common track for Turkish fathers. When advice did not work, physical punishment was not reported by fathers and adolescents, but rather replaced with psychological control. According to father-child pair interviews in the current study, adolescents reported more psychological control than their fathers' narratives. This result was concordance with Yaban *et al*. (2014)'s study in Turkey that a quarter of fathers in their study reported feeling less psychological control than their adolescent children judged their father to have. This result indicates that adolescent children perceived more psychological control than fathers' perceptions.

Both fathers and adolescents reported that fathers were the highest authority in the family. Therefore, the fathers wanted to keep the authority over their children, but the children preferred to have more autonomy. These different desires were more visible as children became older (Aroian *et al*. 2013). Reflecting that authority and autonomy held different value, depending on whose perspective was being elicited. However, fathers and adolescents in the current study reported that they had harmony in the relationship when both of them modified their desires.

The adolescent children mentioned that they spoke to their fathers to often information and economic support, and sometimes emotional and relational issues. Fathers in the present study also reported similar involvement. The variety of issues showed that fathering was about more than just being a breadwinner, involving emotional and relational matters as well.

Fathers' experience with their fathers was a significant influencer in their fathering behaviour due to wishing to improve upon or intimate their fathers' behaviour. Thus, fathers and adolescent children were aware of the effect of the fathers' childhood, but with different interpretations, namely that fathers perceived their behaviour to be much better than their fathers whereas adolescent children perceived that their fathers were still 'behind the times'.

The fathers reported that they learnt about children's issues, regarding romance and health, from their wives. Adolescent children in the current study also mentioned that they talked to their mother about some of their problems rather than to their fathers. Sefer (2006) reported that Turkish adolescents portrayed their mothers as warmer and less critical than their fathers. It showed that fathers were less successful than mothers while they were convincing adolescents to share a problem. In other words, the respondents are perceived as and behave the same as the previous generation of Turkish fathers in that wives remain to 'go-to' parent for advice and nurture.

Both sets of respondents indicated that physical activities at home took place such as wrestling with each other including fathers and daughters, but outside physical activities such as football and fishing were what fathers and sons did together (i.e. daughters were not involved). These patterns highlight how gendered roles and restrictions were a live factor in preventing fathers and daughters from enjoying each other's company across both domestic and wider societal domains. Fathers' different attitudes at home and outside for physical activities might indicate that fathers still felt the traditional social pressure on fathering in Turkey.

Worry and Protection

Participants spoke about 'worry' and 'protection' as the main ingredients for justifying fathering behaviours. Their justifications put children at the centre of the interaction as they believed that they sought the best interests of the child although this was not necessarily what the child wanted. Worry was related to caring for children's present and future lives regarding health and well-being, socialisation, education and career. Protection was related to preserving or promoting the components of the relationship as well as guarding against (potential) harm.

The fathers reported that they worried about any unusual behaviour in their child-rearing especially changing moods, loss of interest or enjoyment in the activities and loss of or increase in appetite. Adolescents in the current study also acknowledged that their fathers were aware of their unusual behaviour. Data from both sets of respondents indicated that there was a positive correlation between unusual (or out of the ordinary) behaviour and worry. As a result of worry, fathers increased their involvement to understand what was wrong in their children's lives. This behaviour was related to protection, but some of the children blocked protective responses, preferring to keep their problem to themselves. Nevertheless, the reports show that unusual behaviour increased father-involvement. However, Maciejewski *et al*. (2014)

found that parents in the Netherlands had **less** interaction with adolescents when the adolescents had higher mood variability. Whislt changed moods might increase father-adolescent interactions, regularly and frequent changed mood might not increase the interaction because fathers might perceive this as a new standard rather than unusual behaviour that gives cause for alarm and worry.

Fathers reported that although they felt protective and wished to exercise control, they were unable to monitor their children in the same way as in previous years as children blocked fathers' inquires such as closing doors, deleting Internet history and changing phone pin numbers. On a wider scale it has been noted that levels of parental monitoring decrease during adolescence (Bronte-Tinkew *et al*. 2006, 864). However, fathers in the present study were unsatisfied with having less monitoring ability and this made them feel unable to exercise their protective feelings. The children reported that they had more freedom than in previous years, but were unhappy due to desiring to have more flexibility in their lives. These tensions reveal that 'liberty' was a key element for adolescents' satisfaction whereas 'protection' was a key factor for fathers' happiness in the father-child relationship.

The fathers and adolescents indicated that girls had less liberty to participate in outside or outdoor activities than boys. Yavas (2012a) also found similar results amongst Turkish youth showing that children's gender affected 'liberty' levels, especially for outdoor activities.

The fathers wanted to know about their children's peers due to worrying about their children's lives and wishing to protect their children from bad friends, but some of the adolescents were reluctant to provide the detailed information about their friends resenting interference in their private lives. Whilst this shows that fathers did not want their children to have negative experiences, it also indicates a conflict where children wanted to have

independence choices of whom with which they could mix. The adolescents raised a desire for more understanding in areas of control and autonomy. Shehata and Ramadan (2010, 650) also reported that adolescent children desired more understanding from their parents. Fathers reported that they understood their children's eagerness, but they mainly considered what they regarded as appropriate options for their children's development and future rather than their children's requests. These reports showed that fathers focused on the possible outcomes of their children's desires using protection 'filters'.

The fathers also reported that they attempted to protect their children by trying to find solutions to their children's problems by asking friends and experts and searching on the Internet. However, the adolescents appeared to underestimate their fathers' comprehension and performance because they were not aware of their fathers' extra efforts, e.g. having searched on the Internet to find an answer to their children's problems.

Both sets of respondents reported that they protected the quality of their interaction via avoiding certain discussion topics. Karagoz (2016) reported that more than one-third of Turkish fathers in her study were reluctant to ask their adolescents' opinion due to disagreement. Guzcu-Yavas (2012) also claimed that Turkish adolescents seemed not to talk about their future plans with their parents for fear of coercion.

Both groups of respondents indicated that they perceived father's protective behaviours as a part of religious responsibility. Snider *et al*. (2004) also echoed similar relation between parental protection and religion.

Role model

The children reported that their fathers encouraged them to do some activities together for instance study, visiting relatives or participating in religious ceremonies. The children perceived these activities as socialising

with each other, but fathers had an extra perception of that as during these activities they could act as a role model. This indicates that although fathers and adolescents had different aims while spending time together, both of them were happy what they did.

The fathers reported that they had more opportunities to be a role model for their children on the weekend than weekdays due to available time. Adolescents in the current study also reported that they spent more time with their fathers at the weekend. The result is in concordance with Shehata and Ramadan's (2010) study which found that adolescent children in Egypt had more positive interaction with their fathers on the weekend than on weekdays.

Physical activities outside the home and family provided more opportunities for the fathers to be a role model for boys although fathers tried to be a role model for both their sons and daughters. These activities kept alive the feature of the traditional parental involvement. Guneysu *et al*. (2017) mentioned that traditional Turkish fathers perceived themselves as more responsible for being a role model and learning process in boys' development than that of girls.

The fathers reported that they were close to their children when they had the opportunity to be a religious role model. The adolescents also reported that they were happy to do religious rituals with their fathers and that they did not feel any enforcement about religion. Sahin (2007) also found that enjoying spending time with their fathers, and receiving support, help and tolerance from their fathers affected Turkish adolescents' religiosity in positive ways. This indicates that the greater opportunity to be a religious role model that fathers had, the greater the closeness in the father-child relationship.

Fathers and adolescents in the present study reported that they sometimes prayed together at home, but adolescent girls did not pray with their fathers

in the mosque due to religious norms. This difference reflects that the fathers had fewer opportunities to become a religious role model for their daughters than their sons.

In conclusion, Turkish fatherhood today emerges as in a state of flux with a mix of traditional and modern features with the former typified by less involvement in child-rearing and the latter seeking to be more 'hands-on', better informed and concerned to be liked by their children. Today's Turkish fathers seem to be more attuned to their children and their needs (or express a wish to be) than the older generation of fathers. However the children report that their fathers are not as modern as they would like them to be (or the fathers think they are). Religion appears to bring fathers and sons together more than it does fathers and daughters. The latter disparity is a consequence of wider societal systems, i.e. religious practices. Whilst stereotypical gender attitudes appear to continue, e.g. fathers are more protective of their daughters' virtue, and there are less opportunities for fathers and daughters to engage in outdoor activities together, in the home, strict gender divisions are less apparent. That is to say, fathers report that they make no difference between their sons and daughters as regards at-home based activity such as watching TV together, and games.

Chapter 6 Conclusion

This research has been concerned with fathering from the point of view of those who enact fathering (fathers) and those on the 'receiving end' (adolescent sons and daughters). It was driven, in part, by a concern to extend Baumrind's research on parenting styles by including **both** fathers and offspring, by collecting quantitative and qualitative data, and by focusing on Turkish participants. Overall, the research has shown interesting differences between the two perspectives of the 'players' in the father-adolescent relationship dynamic, supported and revealed the limitations of Baumrind's parenting styles, and highlighted important cultural issues. In this final chapter, I will highlight and discuss the most significant findings, as well as their implications for the literature.

The research showed differences in assessments of fathers' responsiveness, demandingness, closeness, flexibility and providing autonomy via both sources of the data. As shown in the results of questionnaires, fathers' perceptions of their responsiveness and demandingness were greater than those of adolescents, and this was also evident in terms of gender, in that fathers' perceptions indicated that they were closer to daughters than sons, whereas boys regarded their fathers as harsher and stricter than girls. As also noted, authoritative-ness was more evident in the fathers' reports whereas authoritarian behaviour featured more frequently in the teenagers' accounts of their fathers. Both groups registered that a shared approach to religiosity served for smooth communication and fostered emotional bonds.

The findings that emerged from the interviews indicated that fathers aspired to be a better father than their own fathers e.g. in terms of being closer and more responsive to their children's needs. However, children reported more traditional features in relation to their fathers having less flexibility and providing autonomy, and in doing so, identified that their fathers were not as modern as they would like them to be. Hence, Turkish fatherhood appears in

a state of flux with a mix of traditional and modern characteristics. A notable finding was that religion has a positive effect on father-chid togetherness, but it is more notable in the father-son relationship than the father-daughter relationship (due to religious practices). Fathers were more protective of their daughters and offered more liberty to their sons to participate in outside activities, but both sons and daughters received similar treatment when at home.

This final chapter now returns in depth to understand fathering from the dual perspectives on the agent and recipient. Turkish aspect of fathering, fathering over the world, reciprocity, disagreements, religion, the influence and fathers' and adolescents' features, and fathers' collaborators ('helps') are discussed in the following.

Fathering in Turkey

Fathers are traditionally symbolised as a breadwinner when they are financially involved with their children, in relation to providing pocket money and paying for education. This traditionality was also found in studies on fathering two decades ago with adolescents describing their fathers as providing material support (Telsiz 1998; Steinberg & Silk 2002). However, the present study detected that adolescents talked to fathers about information and economic supports and sometimes emotional and relational matters. Considering the time that has elapsed since these studies, this suggests a change in perceptions of the father figure.

New types of being a father (or 'doing fathering') such as a friend, brother and counsellor were described in the present study, and, as a result, a close, warm and friendly relationship was notable. These patterns may be called contemporary or modern. The results reveal that fathers are involved with their adolescents in new ways. On the other hand, fathers seem still breadwinners as there remains a parental responsibility to provide for meeting the family needs in terms of food and housing. Children also need

their fathers' (parents) financial support. Thus, financial support is evidence of fathers' involvement, but there is also further evidence of emotional and relational supports. It might be asked whether or not fathers embrace the new involvement with their children. The answer is yes, but not enough.

A more flexible hierarchy between fathers and children in Turkey is developing (Yalcinoz 2011), but a patriarchal ideology has remained even where Turkish fathers are more involved with children (Kuzucu 2011). A notable finding in the present study supports these observations that fathers were the highest authority in the family and authoritarian attitudes were still visible in the father-child relationship. Accordingly, traditional and contemporary fathering are both seen in Turkish fathers' behaviour towards their adolescents.

This combination of traditional and contemporary behaviour is manifest in the fathers' reports of the dilemmas of exercising authority and maintaining closeness; giving freedom and protecting children; authority and autonomy. Boratav *et al*. (2014) also described similar dilemmas in Turkish fathers' behaviour in that they were challenged as to where to draw the line between authority and friendship with their children. Consequently, Turkish fathers struggle with balancing traditional and modern fathering. An example of changing fathering is the use of corporal punishment. This has become rarer among fathers in Turkey (Yalcinoz 2011), but as was highlighted in the present study, it has been replaced by psychological control e.g. withholding terms of endearment and not having a close relationship. Therefore, whilst it is worth noting that Turkish fathers are more emotionally involved with their children nowadays, they sometimes abuse this when they withdraw emotional involvement as a substitute for more physical forms of punishment.

A finding in the present study in keeping with the rise of modernity in Turkey was that fathers engaged with their adolescents' problems by searching on the Internet and asking friends and experts. More than two decades ago,

Mizrakci (1994) reported that Turkish fathers engaged with their children's problems using only traditional knowledge gained from what they saw from their own fathers. These patterns show that Turkish fathers now have more opportunities to increase their awareness of parenting due to technological developments. Furthermore, this reflects that Turkish fathers are more open to asking about and investigate their children's issues using less traditional means.

Overall, Turkish fathers can then be described as not only remaining breadwinner figures but also having increased emotional involvement, notwithstanding that elements of patriarchy are still visible in the father-child relationship. Turkish fathering is a mix of traditional and modern features, and fathers struggle to balance them.

Having considered fathering in Turkey, the following discussion point raised by the findings of this research focuses on fathering over the world.

Global Fathering

The literature on parenting styles attempts to categorise fathering as being of a particular type in general, but fathers have different fathering styles at any given moment. As has been captured from the interview reports, during **'influencing'** behaviour, some features of the **authoritarian** style were noticeable when fathers do not give their adolescents any options in their requests; some characteristics of the **authoritative** style were also apparent when fathers explained the reason why they thought what they thought and what they decided; some features of the **permissive** style were visible when fathers had more flexible behaviour and no restrictive rules for their adolescents; and some elements of the **neglectful** style were present when they ceased influencing their adolescents. Thus, the fathers in the present study had no fixed fathering style. The fathering behaviours were flexible, adaptable, responsive and fluid. This fluency may be explained through internal and external factors; the former based on mood, temperament,

motivation and more, such as, the time of the day or day of the week, and the latter related to culture, place, time, a child's reaction, work hours, the behaviour of and interaction with, wives and more, such as, political and social conditions at any particular time. Thus any change (large or small) in fathers' lives, or the world about them, may influence their behaviour towards their children. In this sense, Baumrind's theory does not consider parenting styles as subject to internal and external factors.

A notable finding in this study was that boundaries are less noticeable when nobody is around, but the fathers adopted a more formal relationship when their parents are around. Another notable finding revealed that fathers and adolescents are close to each other on the weekend more than the weekdays due to doing more leisure activities together. Shehata and Ramadan (2010) also confirm this. These results indicate that fathers have friendlier behaviour in leisure activities, as their expectation is to be entertaining rather than maintaining boundaries and rules. Accordingly, fathers' behaviour depends on the timing of activity, their expectations, location and who they are with.

The present study also shows that Turkish adolescents have the same hierarchal order of fathering styles as that of with the American adolescents in Fletcher *et al*.'s (1999) study: authoritarian, authoritative, permissive and neglectful, in descending order respectively, and their percentage of the fathering style results were very similar. The current study is also in concordance with the perceptions of authoritarian fathering of the American adolescents in the Berge *et al*. (2010) study. However, authoritative fathering was more dominant in the reports of American adolescents (Bronte-Tinkew *et al*. 2006; Mileysky *et al*. 2007; Mileysky *et al*. 2008; Bolkan *et al*. 2011) and Dutch adolescents (Hoove *et al*. 2011). However permissive fathering perceptions was more dominant in American adolescents in the study by Smetana (1995). Parenting literature mainly explains these various results by culture, but studies conducted in the USA also had different results arising

from sub-cultural variations. This suggests that there is a widespread variance in the fathering style perceptions of adolescents in the same or between different societies. Consequently, the time of conducting research, culture and sub-culture may be factors in explaining the variance.

Even if culture is an undeniable explanatory feature, there is also another challenge in designating parenting styles, given the fact that the position of a participant's responsive and demanding scores in relation to a 'median' split indicates one of four styles. For instance, a parent may be classified as authoritative in one group whereas the same parent may be categorised as permissive in another group because of the different 'median' in each group. This possible different classification may explain, as indicated earlier, that there is a widespread variance in fathering styles around the world as well as in Turkey. Furthermore, this probability calls into doubt the comparative validity of parenting styles.

Another explanation for the inconsistency may be measurement instruments. Research on parenting styles employs questionnaires, which cover responsive and demanding dimensions, but each questionnaire often rates different behaviour (i.e. 'the authoritative parenting measure' (Steinberg *et al.* 1994); 'the perceived parenting style survey' (McClun & Merrell 1998); 'the measure of child-rearing styles inventory' (Sumer and Gungor 1999); ‘the parenting style measure’ (Lamborn *et al*. 1991). Notably, the reflections of participants may show different parenting behaviour in each instrument. For instance, in one of the Turkish fathering studies, Yilmazer (2009) found **authoritative** fathering to be dominant, whereas the most dominant fathering style is **authoritarian** in the current study. Furthermore, permissive fathering was the least dominant in Yilmazer (2009) whereas the least dominant fathering style in the current study is neglectful fathering. Consequently, the Yilmazer and the present study are not in concordance with each other, even when their participants are Turkish adolescents. This difference might be related to different measures for paternal parenting i.e. Yilmazer (2009)

employed ‘the parenting style measure’, developed by Lamborn *et al*. (1991), whereas the present study applied ‘the MCRS’, developed by Sumer and Gungor (1999). Therefore, it is essential to question whether parenting styles via different measurement tools are comparable. Based on the analysis in the current study, the comparative validity of parenting styles is also doubtful.

Another consideration in the matter of validity of parenting styles approach is matter is that ethically-given parents' consent is fundamentally required in any study and the results of any parenting styles exercise might be skewed because a neglectful parent may be more likely to ignore the request to participate and also the research sample may not include children whose parents tend to be neglectful. Consequently, the portion of neglectful parenting among others studied may be less than reality. This probability also questions the validity of parenting styles.

Helpfully though, the Baumrind framework outlines the features of parenting and provides opportunities to examine the link between parenting styles and children's outcomes, in order to highlight how parenting styles can be enhanced for children at different stages of their development. As outlined previously, fathers are concerned about their adolescents’ present and future lives in terms of health, well-being, socialisation, education and career. They also preserve or promote these components of their relationship as well as guard against (potential) harm. Thus, worry and protection influence fathering behaviour. However, research on fathering as well as parenting mainly focuses on outcomes and omits to explore fathers' behaviours and their reasoning. To elaborate, as a natural consequence of caring for children, fathers in the present study wanted to know everything about their children. This worry might be associated with kinship, paternal obligation, bonds, attachment as well as affection. As indicated in chapter 4, care is a sign of involvement, but fathers are perceived to be disinterested in their children when it is unseen, or fathers do not reveal it. Father-involvement comprises not only noticeable but also obscured – but caring – behaviour such as

thinking about their child, worrying about their protection, seeking advice from social media and friends etc. Parenting literature overlooks such unseen behaviour in the relationship, and, as a result, involvement can be underestimated. Therefore, there is a need to view father-child interactions in greater depth, enquiring about motivations and beliefs as well as considering the more traditional quantitative research approaches.

Overall, what can be suggested is that fathering is flexible, adaptable, responsive, mutual and fluid so that fathers can display four parenting styles at any given time. Father-involvement contains not only noticeable but also disguised behaviour regarding worry and protection. Comparisons between the current study and the little research on fathering elsewhere have shown that fatherhood has its own particular dynamics with the conclusion that there is a widespread variance in fathering styles globally. Thus, Baumrind's parenting styles, whilst serving as useful framework to indicate where research may begin, are inadequate to compare fathering studies.

As indicated, the timing of activity and place are reasons to suggest that fathering is fluid and flexible. Reciprocity is another explanation. Fathering is now discussed as a 'two-way' dynamic.

Reciprocity

Fathers' behaviour is affected by children's reactions, so fathering is 'two-way'. A notable finding in this study was that fathers had more aggressive and authoritarian behaviour and a distant relationship with their adolescents when they wanted them to follow their requests without hesitation. However, they had friendlier behaviour and a closer relationship when their adolescents showed obedience and respectful behaviour or when they wanted their adolescents to share problems with them as a friend would. These outcomes reflect that fathers adjust their behaviour according to adolescents' behaviour and, as a result, they shift between authority and friendship to find the most appropriate position in the relationship.

Another example of reciprocity was evident in terms of who starts the interaction. Fathers initiated communication with their adolescents when they noticed them unhappy, but adolescents also shared their feelings with father. In this case, adolescents' behaviour provided the opportunity to begin the conversation as simply a trigger with the interaction then initiated by fathers. Mainly, adolescents had an active role in initiating their fathers' behaviour. They also influenced terminating their father's behaviour. For instance, some adolescents in the present study blocked their fathers' efforts to become closer. Consequently, fathers' actions and reactions are also dependent on children's behaviour.

Coley and Mederious (2007) found that fathers increase their involvement with and become more protective of their adolescents when they perceive them to be involved in risky behaviour. This study also supports this engagement. However, fathers' involvement here is based on control and authority over their children rather than having a closer relationship. It may be an excellent question to examine how authority and close relationship protect children from risky behaviour.

Overall, the father-child relationship alternates between distant and close as fathering responds to a child's reaction. Fathers and adolescents are both active in constructing reciprocal relationship. While constructing the relationship, fathers and adolescents do not always agree with each other's behaviour. The following discussion point raised by the findings of this research focuses on disagreements between fathers and adolescents.

Disagreements

Interpretations of fathers and adolescents for their behaviour towards each other seem to be one of the main elements in determining their subsequent reactions, what they will do and how. As has been indicated, fathers and teenagers had different interpretations of the fathers' behaviour and, as a

consequence, fathers perceive their behaviour as reflecting more involvement and supportive of autonomy than the adolescents did. These divergent interpretations may explain common assumptions, why their relationships are troublesome and why they think neither understands the other.

The analysis of the interviews showed that fathers' perspectives included protection, family values, personal and cultural expectations and long term aims as well as children's needs. Whereas adolescents' lenses were about liberty and meeting their desires, as well as having an independent life. Thus, these different desires have negative impact on their relationships. Shehata and Ramadan (2010) also found a similar result for Egyptian adolescents via applying an 'adolescent relationship survey questionnaire' (Beazer 1998), which included a 'desired changes in relationship' dimension. However, as evidenced, fathers understood their adolescents' desires, they mainly considered what they thought were better options for their children's development and future rather than their children's requests. Fathers heard their adolescents' voices, but the final decision depended on the fathers' evaluation of possible outcomes informed by protection concerns. The results reflect that fathers determine 'what the child's best interest is' on behalf of children, however, adolescents are sometimes unsatisfied with the decision as they seek flexibility, freedom and liberty in their relationships. Furthermore, in this study, it is worth noting that autonomy is a fundamental concern for adolescents whereas protection is the primary concern for fathers. With this degree of tension between adolescent autonomy and father protection, it is necessary to consider how much fathers are able to judge 'what a child's best interests is'. Being overly protective can sometimes harm children's development in terms of mental health and independence when they have no autonomy. Protection may be beneficial when it occurs, but it may not be suitable in the long-term. Therefore, it is worth noting that there is a need to examine whether or not fathers' (parents') capabilities are sufficient

to decide on behalf of children (in other words, are they exercising the notion of 'best interests' in an unjust and selfish manner).

So whilst the fathers in this study perceived themselves as closer, warmer, more constructive and flexible than the adolescents did of them. Notably, the fathers described themselves as more modern and less traditional than did their teenagers. Such views reveal tensions in the dynamic of father-adolescent.

Overall, it would appear that fathers and children have different interpretations of fathers' behaviour when they have different assessments regarding control vs freedom, authority vs liberty, and protection vs autonomy. Nonetheless, fathers perceive themselves as more contemporary and less traditional than children do.

In Turkey religion is an essential element in the culture and it is surmised that spirituality can have a considerable effect on fathering. In the following, religion's (Islam) influences on fathering are discussed.

Religion

As indicated in the interview reports, teaching Islam to children is one of the fathers' responsibilities, and the Quran and hadiths guide their parenting. Juhari *et al*. (2013) explain this as follows: God entrusts parents to fulfil world and after-life goals for their children. Protection is also a part of religious responsibility (Snider *et al*. 2004). Consequently, fathering behaviours is affected by religious expectations.

Fathers in this study sought to inspire their adolescents to develop religious characteristics through teaching Islam. Rzayeva (2007) and Tecik (2012) indicate this such as being good and behaving well. These patterns reflect that fathers carry on not only their individual religious responsibility for God but also their parenting responsibility for their adolescents in relation to

religious expectations. The outcomes of the expectations also improve on the father-child relationship. Hence, they get the best of both worlds, i.e. personal adherence to faith and implementing their responsibilities to children as a faithful father.

As a finding of this study, fathers were a role model for religious values in terms of praying and rituals. Tezcan (1999) and Pehlivan (2002) also confirm the role model for parents in Turkey. Fathers in this study were not a religious role model all the time, such as praying five times a day, but they paid more attention to religious rituals on the holy nights. A notable finding in the present study was that there was a positive relationship between fathers' responsiveness when there was shared religiosity between fathers and adolescents. This result may be considered as in concordance with other Turkish studies of Arslan (2006) and Uysal (2016), which engaged with adolescents' perspectives. Sahin (2007) also found that Turkish adolescents' religiosity is affected in positive ways through enjoying spending time with their fathers, receiving support, help and tolerance from their fathers. The results reflect that the more religious activities fathers and adolescents do, the more closeness appears in the father-child relationship.

Another finding in the present study was that the religiosity of fathers and adolescents did not significantly differ in relation to demandingness. Arslan (2006) also found similar results with Turkish adolescents. These results indicate that perceptions of religiosity have no considerable effect on demandingness because Islam underlines religious freedom and autonomy.

As seen in the questionnaire results of this study, authoritative and permissive fathering were related to higher perceptions of religiosity whereas authoritarian and neglectful were related to perceptions of less religiosity. These results are also supported by Pehlivan (2002) study that indicated Turkish adolescents tend to learn religious principles more when they perceive their fathers as authoritative, and less when they perceive them as

neglectful. These results reflect that authoritative fathering undoubtedly influences children's religious affiliation.

Overall, the Quran and hadiths motivate fathers to be involved with their children as a religious responsibility. Therefore, fathers seem to talk about Islam and do its rituals with their adolescents, but they do not insist on their adolescents' religiosity. Thus, religion provides involvement opportunities as a common topic in which fathers and adolescents can together be interested in. So far, the father-child relationships have been discussed without consideration of the more demographic features of the two and now these will be considered in the following.

The influence of fathers' features (age, education, income and experience)

As seen in the reports of the interviews, fathers' experience with their own fathers was a factor shaping their desire to be a better father; they tended to follow their fathers' behaviour, when they were happy in their childhood, but they did not imitate their fathers' behaviour if they were unhappy in their childhood. Juhari *et al*. (2013) also confirm that fathers aspire to be a better father than their fathers in terms of having a greater closeness to their children, and a more relaxed expression of authority and discipline. For example, the younger generation of fathers in Turkey are closer and warmer with their children than the previous generation (Sunar 2002; Boratav *et al*. 2014). However, children do not see this comparison as they have no reference points with their fathers' childhood.

Fathers in this study were less strict when their educational level increased but also they were better educated than previous generations of Turkish fathers, and their reports indicate that they were more motivated and could quickly access more resources on fathering and children's development. Tezel-Sahin (2011) also reported that a higher educational level is related to increased fathers' awareness about their children. Particularly, fathers are

more aware of their children's development than those from previous generations.

As noted in chapter 3, adolescents reported stricter behaviour from older fathers. Notably, younger fathers were regarded as more gentle. This result is in concordance with fathers' aspirations to be a better father than their own fathers as their age ranges cover both the current and previous generation.

The current study found that there was no significant relationship between income and responsiveness. However, the results are not in concordance with Turkish adolescents in Yilmazer (2009) study. Income is related to providing more economic resources for children, such as phone and laptop and spending more time together in activities such as eating out, going to the cinema and travel. Therefore, adolescents may perceive more involvement with their fathers when income increases. However, warmth, affection and closeness do not require any money, just the heart of a father.

This study mainly focused on fathers' relationship with a specific adolescent even if they have more than a child. However, fathers' experience with another child provides a reference point for fathers in terms of how to behave with their children. For example, if fathers have no experience with an adolescent, they keep applying their experimental approach, but if they have already had some experience with an adolescent, they do not make as much effort to consider whether their skills are suitable for their aims and adolescents. Therefore, experience with another child may affect fathers' learning progress on fathering. It may be worth noting that there is a need to examine how a number of children influences fathering.

Overall, age, educational level and income had some association with the ability to be a better father and be perceived as one. How did adolescents' features affect the father-child relationship dynamic?

The influence of adolescents' features (age and gender)

Adolescents' age and gender appear to have a significant effect on fathers' behaviour. As outlined in chapter 4, fathers were able to monitor their children less than in previous years as adolescents preferred more autonomy as they grow, but fathers wanted to maintain their authority over their adolescents. Consequently, these contradictory desires produce more conflict, and disagreement is more visible when children are older (Aroian *et al* 2013; Bronte-Tinkew *et al*. 2006).

Boys in present study had more conflict with their fathers than girls. Ucanok and Gure (2012) also confirm this result with Turkish adolescents. This brings to light an assumption that girls may be more obedient than boys so that fathers have less conflict with their daughters than their sons. There may be another assumption that boys have more conflict with their fathers as they may be affected by more rules than girls. The interview reports in the current study indicated that boys had more liberty for outdoor activities than girls when they were with their friends. This result is also in concordance with Turkish adolescents (Yavas 2012a) and Indian-American adolescents (Balaguru 2004). In other words, fathers tend to show more protective behaviour towards their daughters than their sons when their children want to spend time outside of home. However, the questionnaire results in the present study showed that boys generally perceived more demandingness than girls. Different results between the qualitative and quantitative data reflect that fathers have different restrictive approaches to sons and daughters in and out of the home. Hence, it is worth noting to scrutinise the relationship between fathers' demandingness and gender of children in terms of activities at home and outside independently of specific behaviour.

A second notable finding as regards spending time together was that gender issues are more visible in outdoor settings such as fishing, but not for activities at home such as playing games, cooking and wrestling. Traditional Turkish fathers perceive themselves as having more responsibility for boys

than girls in terms of spending time together (Guneysu *et al*. 2017). The different attention paid to physical activities at home and outside reflects that fathers still experience traditional social pressures on their activities. In this study, fathers tended to be more emotionally expressive with their daughters than their sons. Finkenauer *et al*. (2005) also confirm this. Furthermore, girls in the present study perceived less paternal psychological control than boys. Turkish adolescents in Dinn and Sunar (2017) study also reported similar outcomes. The different expressive approaches in relations to gender might indicate that fathers reinforce stereotypes for boys and girls. For instance, Uney (2014) reported that Turkish girls are more emotional than boys. Consequently, fathers may approach girls more gently than boys as they perceive girls as more fragile.

A notable finding in this study was that **permissive** fathering was most common among girls whereas **authoritarian** fathering was the most common among boys. However, authoritarian fathering was more frequent among American girls (Berge *et al*. 2010) whereas permissive fathering was more common among Croatian boys (Raboteg-Saric & Saric 2014). The variance of the results may reflect that gender is still visible in fathering (styles) regardless of culture.

As a finding of this study, religion encourages fathers to be fair in their relationships with their children regardless of gender. Thus, Islam teaches that parents will go to heaven if they lavish attention and goodness on their daughters as well as their sons (Nevevi 1990). As described earlier, fathers and adolescents pray at home together, but they cannot pray in the mosque with their daughters due to religious norms, which separate the genders within mosque. This situation reduces the religious opportunity for father-daughter-involvement despite there being no gender issue in other practices in terms of fasting ceremonies and reading the Quran.

Overall, the responsive and demanding ingredients in the relationship decrease as children age and move onto the next grade. Fathers tend to exhibit more restrictive and protective behaviours towards their daughters' socialising outside the home than their sons'. Emotional components and sensitiveness are more noticeable in the father-daughter relationship than the father-son and the boys in this study perceive greater psychological control from and conflict with their fathers than girls. Gender issues are more visible outside than at home where they are doing physical activities.

The father-child relationship includes not only the ‘agents’ and ‘recipients’ but also fathers’ allies. How fathers collaborate with other people to maintain or improve their relationship with their adolescents is now discussed.

Fathers’ collaborators (‘helps’)

It was outlined with the reports of interviews that fathers needed their wives’ help because adolescents tended to share problems with their mothers first. Tecik (2012) and Lesch and Ismail (2014) also confirm this. This sharing might be related to affection and involvement as fathers may be harsher disciplinarian than their wives (Saricam 2012; Yalcinoz 2011); adolescents also perceive mothers as closer than fathers (Steinberg & Silk 2002; Sefer 2006; Shehata & Ramadan 2010; Bronte-Thinkew *et al*. 2006); and adolescents describe having easier communication with mothers than fathers (Levin & Currie 2010; Brooks *et al*. 2015; Shek 2010). However, Brooks *et al*. (2015) underlined that there is a significant positive trend towards easier communication between fathers and adolescents across 32 countries in Europe and North America from 2002 to 2010. The results indicate though that fathers seem still behind mothers in relation to communication with their children.

As a finding of this study, mothers acted as a buffer in the father-child relationship when there was a conflict between fathers and adolescents. Tecik (2012) also found that mothers help break the ice between fathers and

children. However, since mothers take a mediating role between fathers and adolescents, this mediation might make fathers dependent on their wives to facilitate relationships between them and their adolescents. Nevertheless, wives can be one of the fathers' staunchest allies when they have a communication deficiency with their adolescents.

Fathers in this study reported that they got help from relatives and friends to minimise or resolve problems with their adolescents. Ashbourne *et al*. (2012) and Ustunel (2010) also confirm that relatives and friends influence children's behaviour while maintaining fathers' hierarchical superiority. These representations reflect that relatives and friends as well as wives are essential allies to support and promote fathers-child relationships whenever fathers need help from them. Furthermore, Turkish fathering is unchanged when it comes to being helped by others as a means of consolidating authority in the relationship.

This collaboration is also an involvement sign, but adolescents are usually unaware of it as their fathers do not reveal these associations. The obscuration of the involvement may justify why father-child pairs have varying perceptions of fathering. Therefore, it may be worth in future examining fathers' hidden involvement behaviour and how this influences their relationships and their children' perceptions in terms of fathering.

Overall, fathers and mothers work in close collaboration on child-rearing, and friends and relatives are also collaborators. Consequently, they become the eyes in the back of the fathers' head, and this approach minimises potential conflict between fathers and children.

Conclusion

Fathers want to be better fathers than their own fathers so they attempt to pay more attentions to their children's needs, provide them more autonomy,

have closer relationships with them, spending more time with them and put them in center of their communication. However, they also want to keep their authority over their children and discipline their children according to their values. Thus, Turkish fathers' behavior straddles traditional and modern fathering styles; the former typified by authority and distance from their children and the later symbolised by a closer relationship with their children. In these shifting circumstances, fathers struggle with balancing authority and friendship in their relationships with their children. Children perceive their fathers as old fashioned and behind contemporary approaches to fathering even when fathers perceive themselves as closer, warmer, more caring responsive and involved than their own fathers.

However one thing appears inescapable, Turkish father-child involvement is more noticeable in the current generation of fathers than the previous generation (though fathers seem still behind mothers with regards to closeness, warmth and communication). Fathers collaborate with their wives, relatives and friends in order to eliminate communication problems with their children. The fathering is 'two-way' so that fathers and children are both actively constructing their relationship. A child's reaction, time and place all affect fathers' parenting so that variety in fathering can be seen in a father's attitudes. The level of paternal monitoring decreases when fathers have higher educational levels or children are older. However, as children get older, the conflict between fathers and adolescents is more visible due to different desires for autonomy and control (child) and different assessments of danger (father). Islam has a positive effect on father-child involvement via the Quran and hadiths regarding protection, closeness, model behaviour and spending time together, but some religious norms provide more opportunities for father-son involvement. Fathers perceive girls as more fragile so that they tend to be more expressive of emotions with girls than boys. They also tend to have more protective behaviour towards their daughters than their sons so that girls' socialising outside is more restricted than that of boys. Although boys have more liberty, especially outdoor activities, they have more conflict

with their fathers than that of girls. The traditional gender social pressures on fathering is more dominant outside than at home in father-daughter involvement. So, Turkish fatherhood today emerges as in a state of flux with a mix of traditional and modern features.

Chapter 7 Limitations

This study reflected the perspectives of fathers and adolescents via questionnaires and interviews, but their interactions were not observed. Therefore, this study's outcomes were based on their reports.

Most Turkish families are nuclear, but some of them are still extended family. As an interviewee, whose parents lived with him, indicated, he restricted his behaviour when their parents were around. Thus, a nuclear and extended family situation may have a considerable effect on fathering, but this study did not specify with whom fathers lived.

Mothers' labour position influences father involvement when their children are a baby or in younger ages and, as a result, single-earner or double-earner may also effect fathering adolescents. However, this study did not examine whether or not their wives work.

Fathers in intact and separated families may have different behaviour as they have different opportunities to be together with their children. However, this study did not consider whether fathers lived in enact or separated family. Moreover, being a biological father or stepfather may affect fathering, but this study did not evaluate it.

This study distributed 2542 survey set, but 580 surveys returned. Namely, the return of the distributions was successful with 23%. Thus, it was possible that those fathers, who were not interested in their behaviour children, did not attend this study. This study might not be enough involved with those fathers, who had neglectful features.

Numbers of children and their ages may influence fathering as they are related to spending time and experience. This study engaged with a specific

child even if fathers had more than one child, but this study did not investigate relationships between fathering and the number of children.

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Appendices

1.1 Questionnaire for children

BU ANKET ÇOCUKLAR İÇİNDİR

Bilgi formunu dikkatlice okuduktan sonra araştırmaya gönüllü olarak katıldığınızı belirten izin formunu imzalayın. Daha sonra aşağıdaki anket sorularını cevaplandırın. Anket 26 sorudan oluşmakta ve tahmini olarak 10 dakikada tamamlanmaktadır. **Lütfen hiçbir maddeyi boş bırakmayın. Anketi doldurduktan sonra anketi küçük zarfın içerisine koyun ve bir daha açılmayacak şekilde kapatın.**

Araştırmaya katıldığınız için teşekkür ederim.

Salim KAYA
Edinburgh Üniversitesi
Psikolog ve Sosyal Hizmetler Uzmanı

1- Cinsiyetiniz

( ) Kız ( ) Erkek

2- Yaşınız?

.....

3- Kaça gidiyorsunuz?

( ) Lise 1
( ) Lise 2
( ) Lise 3

4- "Dini vecibelerimi zamanında eksiksiz olarak yerine getiririm" ifadesi sizin için ne kadar doğrudur?

( ) Hiç doğru değil.
( ) Biraz doğru.
( ) Doğru (orta dereceli)
( ) Çok doğru.

Sayfayı çevirin ve anketi doldurmaya devam edin.

ÇOCUK YETİŞTİRME TUTUMLARI ÖLÇEĞİ

Aşağıda babanızla olan ilişkileriniz hakkında cümleler verilmiştir. Sizden istenen, babanızla etkileşiminizi düşünerek, her bir cümlenin sizin için ne derecede doğru olduğunu ilgili yeri işaretleyerek belirtmenizdir. Hiçbir maddenin doğru veya yanlış cevabı yoktur. **Lütfen hiçbir maddeyi boş bırakmayınız.**		Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum	Katılmıyorum	Kararsızım	Katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum
1	Benimle sık sık rahatlatıcı bir şekilde konuşur.					
2	Her davranışımı sıkı sıkıya kontrol etmek ister.					
3	Nasıl davranacağım veya ne yapacağım konusunda bana hep yararlı bilgiler verir.					
4	Onun istediği hayatı yaşamam konusunda hep ısrarcı olur.					
5	Sorunlarım olduğunda onları açık bir şekilde görmemde hep yardımcı olur.					
6	Arkadaşlarımla ilişkilerime çok karışır.					
7	Sorunlarımı çözmemde destek olur.					
8	Onunkinden farklı bir görüşe sahip olmama genelde tahammül edemez.					
9	Sevgi ve yakınlığına her zaman güvenirim.					
10	Kurallara aykırı davrandığımda beni kolaylıkla affetmez.					
11	Fazla yakın bir ilişkimiz yoktur.					
12	Ne zaman ve ne yapacağım konusunda her zaman talimat verir.					
13	Bir problemim olduğunda ona anlatmaktansa, kendime saklamayı tercih ederim.					
14	Geç saatlere kadar oturmama izin verir.					
15	Birbirimize çok bağlıyız.					
16	Arkadaşlarımla geç saatlere kadar dışarıda kalmama izin vermez.					
17	Onun düşüncelerine ters gelen bir şey yaptığımda beni suçlamaz.					
18	Boş zamanlarımı nasıl değerlendireceğime karışır.					
19	Bir sorunum olduğunda bunu hemen anlar.					
20	Hangi saatte hangi arkadaşımla buluşacağımı bilmek ister.					
21	Benim ne hissettiğimle veya ne düşündüğümle gerçekten ilgilenmez.					
22	Arkadaşlarımla dışarı çıkmama nadiren izin verir.					

Sonuçları öğrenmek isterseniz lütfen eposta adresini yazınız. ..... @ .....

50 dakika sürecek olan röportaj (mülakat) yöntemi ile 20 baba ve 20 çocuk bu araştırmanın ikinci basamağında katılımcı olması planlanmaktadır. Babanın ve çocuğun birlikte araştırmaya katılması gerekmektedir. Röportajlar, baba ve çocuk için ayrı ayrı yapılacak ve ulaşımınıza kolaylık sağlanması amacıyla evinize yakın uygun devlet kurumlarında gerçekleşecektir. Ayrıca, röportaja katıldığınızda hediye çeki alacaksınız. **Röportaja katılmak isterseniz, sizinle nasıl iletişim kurabileceğimi lütfen yazınız**. Tel: ..... eposta: ..... @ .....

1.2 Questionnaire for fathers

BU ANKET BABALAR İÇİNDİR

Bilgi formunu dikkatlice okuduktan sonra araştırmaya gönüllü olarak katıldığınızı belirten izin formunu imzalayın. Daha sonra aşağıdaki anket sorularını cevaplandırın. Anket 26 sorudan oluşmakta ve tahmini olarak 10 dakikada tamamlanmaktadır. **Lütfen hiçbir maddeyi boş bırakmayın. Anketi doldurduktan sonra anketi küçük zarfın içerisine koyun ve bir daha açılmayacak şekilde kapatın.**

Araştırmaya katıldığınız için teşekkür ederim.

Salim KAYA
Edinburgh Üniversitesi
Psikolog ve Sosyal Hizmetler Uzmanı

1-Yaşınız? .....

2-En son bitirmiş olduğunuz okulu işaretleyin?

( ) İlkokul
( ) Ortaokul
( ) Lise
( ) Üniversite

3-Evinizin ortalama aylık geliri ne kadardır?

( ) 1300 ve altı
( ) 1300 ile 1999 arası
( ) 2000 ile 2999 arası
( ) 3000 ile 3999 arası
( ) 4000 ve üzeri

4-"Dini vecibelerimi zamanında eksiksiz olarak yerine getiririm" ifadesi sizin için ne kadar doğrudur?

( ) Hiç doğru değil.
( ) Biraz doğru.
( ) Doğru (orta dereceli)
( ) Çok doğru.

Sayfayı çevirin ve anketi doldurmaya devam edin.

ÇOCUK YETİŞTİRME TUTUMLARI ÖLÇEĞİ

	Aşağıda babanızla olan ilişkileriniz hakkında cümleler verilmiştir. Sizden istenen, babanızla etkileşiminizi düşünerek, her bir cümlenin sizin için ne derecede doğru olduğunu ilgili yeri işaretleyerek belirtmenizdir. Hiçbir maddenin doğru veya yanlış cevabı yoktur. **Lütfen hiçbir maddeyi boş bırakmayınız.**	Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum	Katılmıyorum	Kararsızım	Katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum
1	Onunla sık sık rahatlatıcı bir şekilde konuşurum.					
2	Her davranışını sıkı sıkıya kontrol etmek isterim.					
3	Nasıl davranacağı veya ne yapacağı konusunda ona hep yararlı bilgiler veririm.					
4	Benim istediği hayatı yaşaması konusunda hep ısrarcı olurum.					
5	Sorunları olduğunda onları açık bir şekilde görmesinde hep yardımcı olurum.					
6	Arkadaşları ile ilişkilerine çok karışırım.					
7	Sorunlarını çözmesinde destek olurum.					
8	Benimkinden farklı bir görüşe sahip olmasına genelde tahammül edemem.					
9	Sevgi ve yakınlığıma her zaman güvenir.					
10	Kurallara aykırı davrandığında onu kolaylıkla affederim.					
11	Fazla yakın bir ilişkimiz yoktur.					
12	Ne zaman ve ne yapacağı konusunda her zaman talimat veririm.					
13	Bir problemi olduğunda bana anlatmaktansa, kendine saklamayı tercih eder.					
14	Geç saatlere kadar oturmasına izin veririm.					
15	Birbirimize çok bağlıyız.					
16	Arkadaşlarıyla geç saatlere kadar dışarıda kalmasına izin vermem.					
17	Benim düşüncelerime ters gelen bir şey yaptığımda onu suçlamam.					
18	Boş zamanlarını nasıl değerlendireceğine karışırım.					
19	Bir sorunu olduğunda bunu hemen anlarım.					
20	Hangi saatte hangi arkadaşıyla buluşacağını bilmek ister.					
21	Onun ne hissettiğiyle veya ne düşündüğüyle gerçekten ilgilenmem.					
22	Arkadaşlarıyla dışarı çıkmasına nadiren izin veririm.					

Sonuçları öğrenmek isterseniz lütfen eposta adresini yazınız. ..... @ .....

50 dakika sürecek olan röportaj (mülakat) yöntemi ile 20 baba ve 20 çocuk bu araştırmanın ikinci basamağında katılımcı olması planlanmaktadır. Babanın ve çocuğun birlikte araştırmaya katılması gerekmektedir. Röportajlar, baba ve çocuk için ayrı ayrı yapılacak ve ulaşımınıza kolaylık sağlanması amacıyla evinize yakın uygun devlet kurumlarında gerçekleşecektir. Ayrıca, röportaja katıldığınızda hediye çeki alacaksınız. **Röportaja katılmak isterseniz, sizinle nasıl iletişim kurabileceğimi lütfen yazınız**. Tel: ..... eposta: ..... @ .....